Drama as an Ecotone in the Ecosystem of Primary Education

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the tensions that emerge as drama is implemented in the teaching at a primary school. The thesis analyses drama practice in relation to a rationalistic and a holistic theoretical framework, and employs the epistemological view that subjectification and socialization are as important as the qualification dimension in education. A metaphorical model was developed, Schooling–Ecotone–Art, in order to deepen the understanding of drama as a subject in relation to the educational discourse. The ecotone, a notion deriving from ecology, symbolizes drama and serve as a tool to explore the tensions created at the borders of the adjacent habitats. The study describes the developing diversity within the drama practice in relation to the staff's teaching and the pupils' learning and meaning making. The empirical data are gathered by field studies at a primary school in Sweden, during one year. A project was made possible by a grant from the local municipality, through which the school was able to engage in a collaborative project with a local culture centre in which teachers and drama pedagogues worked together on a weekly basis. The doctoral study was initiated by an invitation from the school and the culture centre. Anchored in critical ethnography, the data include observations, interviews with staff and pupils, video recordings, questionnaires and email correspondence. The findings reveal different levels of tensions as drama is implemented in the teaching, which reflects the materiality of the discursive order and institutional power in education. Further, the study demonstrates the levels of progression as drama is practiced regularly, in which carnival play was a factor in the initial turbulent phase, and thus a major challenge for the staff. The study suggests that the phases in the progress demonstrate that drama comprises a unique and subject-specific content, which is needed in a holistic epistemology in primary education. Additionally, the progress describes how diversity emerges in the staff's teaching as well as in the pupils' creative work and that questions of interculturality are illuminated. The study concludes that there is a need to deconstruct a rationalistic epistemology, and develop a holistic epistemology, in order to achieve a sustainable education. The thesis contributes with deepened knowledge of drama as a unique habitat, and the possibilities for diversity as the tensions created in relation to adjacent habitats, schooling and art, are viewed as possibilities rather than obstacles to avoid.

The material being presented for examination is my own work and has not been submitted for an award of this or another HEI except in minor particulars which are explicitly noted in the body of the thesis. Where research pertaining to the thesis was undertaken collaboratively, the nature and extent of my individual contribution has been made explicit.

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Contents

Deep in the forest there’s an unexpected clearing which can be reached only
by someone who has lost his way

Tomas Tranströmer

1. INTRODUCTION

The thesis contains seven chapters. In this first chapter, I briefly introduce the metaphors which permeate this thesis. Further, I describe the background to the project at Dalhem School, on which the thesis is based and formulate the research problem, the aim for my research and the research questions. The Introduction ends with a thesis overview.

As a drama teacher who has worked in compulsory school for many years and currently works as a lecturer for teacher students at Malmö University in Sweden, I am interested in studying drama practice in the compulsory school context. In 2013, I was given the possibility to undertake doctoral studies in Chester, England, while at the same time, an opportunity opened up for me to engage in a research study at Dalhem School (anonymized name), a primary school in Sweden. Dalhem School was involved in a collaboration with a local culture centre and had received a grant from the municipality for a one-year project called "Drama in the teaching" and the purpose for the school project was to implement drama in the teaching as a subject and a teaching method. The school project made it possible to initiate a research study at Dalhem School, and this thesis is the result of my research.

In my own practice and writing, the formal term in Swedish is *dramapedagogik* (drama pedagogy), which contains pedagogical practice but includes theatrical elements as well. The comparable English translation would be 'drama in education'. In my daily practice, as I talk to students and colleagues, the term I use is 'drama', as compared with other aesthetic subjects in compulsory school, visual art (*bild*) and music (*musik*). Given that the term 'drama' can be used in Swedish as well as in English, this is the term I will use in the thesis. The word 'drama' originates from Greek and can be translated as 'act' or 'action'. As in English, the term has several meanings in Swedish: a text, a performance, and an aesthetic subject and method. I draw on Sternudd (2000), who analyses drama in Swedish curriculums and motivates her use of dramapedagogik to underline the balance of the pedagogical/educational with the aesthetic perspective. I recognize this as a common view among drama practitioners in Sweden.

The research undertaken in this thesis concerns the implementation of drama in the teaching and is not, as the title may suggest, about ecology. During my research process, a metaphor surfaced that presented a view on how drama can be perceived in the compulsory school context. The metaphor has informed my explorative process and given me a vehicle for my thoughts. It is not a coincidence that I have chosen metaphors from the field of ecology. Nature and experiences of a diversity of landscapes have been a great and important part of my life ever since I was a small child. As a teenager I moved from the very north of Sweden to the very south, and many hiking experiences through different landscapes in Sweden still enrich my life today. During my doctoral studies, I found a connection between ecological and educational phenomena, and when I came across the concept of 'ecotone',[1] my imagination took a leap. As the metaphorical model utilized in this thesis is an impetus for and permeates the thesis, I start by introducing its basic idea and terminology, which are possibly new to readers in the field of education, before giving a background to my study.

Ricoeur defines metaphor in terms of movement: "A word is displaced by another; it is a movement from… to…" (1977, p. 17). A metaphor uses the meaning of one word in order to valorize another to fill a semantic void. Drawn from Ricoeur, "[a] metaphor holds two thoughts of different things together in simultaneous performance upon the stage of a word or a simple expression, whose meaning is the result of their interaction" (1977, p. 92). Ricoeur's definition of a metaphor is similar to 'metaxis', a tenet in drama which describes the state where the actor belongs completely and simultaneously to two different autonomous worlds – the image of reality and the reality of the image (Boal, 1995, p. 43). I use metaphors as a poetic function rather than a rhetorical device, though I do not aim for persuasion but rather seek to "redescribe reality by the roundabout route of heuristic fiction" (Ricoeur, 1977, p. 291). Using a metaphor is to depart from language as a direct description of reality in favour of a mythic approach "where its

[1] An ecotone is a transitional area of vegetation between two different plant communities. (https://academic-eb-com.proxy.mau.se/levels/collegiate/article/ecotone/31945)

function of discovery is set free" (Ricoeur, 1977, p. 292). The metaphorical model used in this thesis, which is condensed as Schooling–Ecotone–Art, is an attempt to develop the understanding of drama practice in a primary school context.

The metaphor originates from ecology[2] and the key concept of 'ecotone' is a metaphor for drama. Within ecology, the ecotone describes a border area between two separate areas in a landscape (Smith & Smith, 2006), for example, a clearing between arable land and a forest. An ecotone is an area of 'its own' but at the same time a border area – a space in between. A characteristic of an ecotone is with the tensions that emerge at the edges of the adjacent areas. The tensions occur at the edge of the arable land, given that it is cultivated and expected to be free from weeds and produce certain crops, while the ecotone is 'wild', seemingly useless and contains a conglomeration of species. As a result of this tension, ecotones have a greater diversity of species than is found in either flanking areas. This is known as the 'edge effect'. Along the same line, tension is a basic element in a narrative, in drama and dramaturgy, and it is what gives energy to the development of a story. Tension creates curiosity and engagement in drama practice and is a key concept in this study. An ecotone often contains unique species not found in neighbouring areas and some species, many birds for example, depend on ecotones to breed. (Smith & Smith, 2012). These forms of life are described as 'edge species'. In the transferred sense, edge species symbolize the media-specific forms and contents of drama and is what sets it apart from other school subjects.

Drama is not a mandatory subject in compulsory school in Sweden, and situated in a border area between pedagogy and theatre, tensions arise at the edges of these areas. In order to identify and illuminate certain perspectives and aspects of drama as well as its position in compulsory school in Sweden today, I have simplified the contours of these areas and call them Schooling–Ecotone–Art, which I describe as habitats. In the Swedish National Encyclopaedia, habitat is defined as "the life-environment of a species",[3] and Britannica Academic describes it as "a place

[2] Ecology is the study of the relationships between organisms and their environment. (https://academic-eb-com.proxy.mau.se/levels/collegiate/search/articles?query=ecology)

[3] https://www-ne-se.proxy.mau.se/uppslagsverk/encyklopedi/lång/habitat

where an organism or a community of organisms lives".[4] Wikipedia formulates it as "an environment where certain species can live",[5] and adds an interesting detail: the fact that there is a suitable habitat does not mean that the species in question is present; that is to say, there is more to it than the existence of the actual space. Likewise, drama is stipulated in the national curriculum, but that does not mean it is actually present in schools.

The metaphorical model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art describes the three bordering habitats in which 'Schooling' refers to the orthodox and formal organization, content and practice in a primary school. In this thesis, schooling is related to historical perspectives as well as the current educational discourse. 'Art' denotes a habitat which prioritizes artistic practice and processes, art products and participants' agency before pedagogy, curriculum and didactics. In Sweden, the school subjects of music, visual art, dance and drama are labelled 'aesthetic subjects' and not 'the Arts' as is often the case in English-speaking countries. Art, in the Swedish context, is foremost referred to professional artists' work and products. Art, in the primary school context in Sweden, commonly involves pupils visiting concerts, theatre performances and art museums and having artists visit the school.

When developing my thinking on the ecotone concept, I further employed ecosystem as a metaphor for primary school. Ecosystems can be defined as "the complex of living organisms, their physical environment and all their interrelationships in a particular unit of space" (Britannica Academic, 18-09-18). Using 'ecosystem' to describe primary school, and Dalhem School in particular, serves to highlight the holistic system of practices and relations between pupils and teachers and between the pupils themselves in relation to the cultural, physical, social, cognitive and emotional environment. The ecotone symbolizes drama as a habitat within this system and serves to visualize it as an important part of the primary school ecosystem.

[4] https://academic-eb-com.proxy.mau.se/levels/collegiate/article/habitat/38703

[5] https://sv.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habitat

1.1 Background

My study was initiated in conjunction with an ongoing collaboration since 2011 between a culture centre and a primary school, Dalhem School, in a city in northern Sweden. Against the backdrop of an earlier collaboration, Professor Eva Österlind from Stockholm University became involved in the process of applying for funding for the research study with the Director at the culture centre and the principal of Dalhem School. The application was approved by the municipality as part of a social investment initiative in a socially vulnerable area of the city. The municipality approved the application, which was titled "Drama in the teaching". In 2013, as I applied for doctoral studies at Chester University, I was given the opportunity to take part in the study by Österlind, who was the research leader, as I am part of a network of drama teachers in higher education, interested in drama research in compulsory school context. I collected data for my research in fall 2013 and spring 2014.

In addition to taking part in the school project and developing the collaboration with drama pedagogues from the culture centre, the school staff was invited to participate in the study, which involved, for example, being observed and interviewed. Four class teachers in Grades One to Four volunteered to take an active part. Three of these teachers worked together on a weekly basis with two drama pedagogues from the culture centre. One of the teachers worked by himself but involved me as a dialogue partner for his work during the year of the project. He also took part in some meetings with the drama team (teachers and drama pedagogues). I spent approximately one week a month at the school observing lessons and interviewing the teachers, the principal, the drama pedagogues and the pupils. At the time of my research, most of the pupils at Dalhem School had a non-Swedish background. The principal and teachers saw drama as an opportunity to support the pupils in developing their learning of Swedish and their ability for social interplay and creativity. The school staff stressed the importance of developing a long-term drama practice, which was a positive starting point for the drama pedagogues and me as a researcher. The ambition was to develop school practice with aesthetic practice, particularly drama, which I considered an ambitious attempt for the project.

Research problem

The formulated research problem is the palpable gap between the Swedish national curriculum and the reality of primary schools. The national curriculum, Lgr11, stipulates that all pupils in compulsory school (aged 6–15) should have access to a variety of aesthetic forms of expressions:[6]

> Pupils shall be offered experiences of different expressions of knowledge. They shall be able to try and to develop different forms of expression and to experience emotions and moods. Drama, dance, musicianship and creativity within visual art, text and form shall be part of the school's activities (Lgr11, p. 4 [my translation]).

And when they leave compulsory school at age fifteen, they should be able to:

> …*use and understand* many different forms of expression such as language, visual art, music, *drama* and dance, and have developed knowledge about the culture of society. (Lgr11, p. 8 [my translation and italics])

Teachers are bound to follow the curriculum, but despite this, most schools do not include drama and dance in the teaching. However, as an experienced drama practitioner, lecturer in teacher education, and member of networks for drama practitioners in higher education in Sweden, my experience is that there is much interest in drama by primary school staff, which raises questions about how this gap is upheld. The rationale for my research is therefore to interrogate what forces are in motion to maintain the gap and what hinders schools and teachers from implementing drama in the teaching. The research study has given me the opportunity to investigate and document the process in which a school aims to follow the curriculum and implement drama in the teaching.

My research interest is informed by questions that surfaced during my own work as a drama practitioner in primary school for twenty years. The motivation also derives from issues that have arisen since 2006, which is when I started working as a lecturer in teacher education at Malmö University in Sweden. Given that my MA is in Education, my research interest is also with relating

[6] https://www.skolverket.se/undervisning/grundskolan/laroplan-och-kursplaner-for-grundskolan/laroplan-lgr11-for-grundskolan-samt-for-forskoleklassen-och-fritidshemmet?url=1530314731%2Fcompulsorycw%2Fjsp%2Fcurriculum.htm%3Ftos%3Dgr&sv.url=12.5dfee44715d35a5cdfa219f#anchor_1

drama to educational theory, in other words, what drama pedagogy is and can be in the context of compulsory school in Sweden. My research is grounded in the belief that drama pedagogy can offer something important to education. In Elliot Eisner's words, "Education is the process of learning to create ourselves, and it is what the arts, both as a process and as the fruits of that process, promote" (2002, p. 3).

My aim with this study is to describe and critically analyse the process of implementing drama pedagogy in the teaching and to investigate the tensions, opportunities and obstacles that arise in this progression in addition to what these tensions generate. A further aim is to explore how teachers, drama pedagogues and pupils describe their experiences, learning and meaning-making processes in the drama practice. The thesis contributes with a discussion of the conception of drama as a subject in primary education, and the impact of historical and current epistemological discourses on drama in primary school in Sweden. The thesis contributes with knowledge for teachers, student teachers and drama practitioners who want to engage in how drama pedagogy can be implemented in the primary school context, understand the tensions that arise in this process, and make use of the opportunities and possibilities it brings.

1.2 Research questions

In the thesis, I pose three research questions informed by the metaphorical concept of primary school as an ecosystem through the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art. The first question relates to the tensions that arise at the borders of schooling, ecotone and art as drama is implemented in the teaching as a subject and a learning media.

1. What tensions arise when drama is regularly practiced in a primary school, and what possibilities for pedagogical diversity evolve in the process?

The second question concerns learning in school subjects through drama and especially Swedish teaching. Even though I propose a broad view of learning and knowledge and see meaning-making and learning as a whole, I have in this thesis chosen to use the two concepts in order to illuminate

different aspects in relation to drama. This question concerns pupils' learning, as well as teachers' and drama pedagogues' learning outcomes of the project at Dalhem school.

2. What kind of learning processes can be identified in the drama practice?

The final question addresses the concept of 'meaning-making' and involves aspects of learning and development related to creative processes within drama practice that are not restricted to the curriculum, syllabi and didactics. Meaning-making refers to processes where pupils are given creative agency and the possibility to explore themes that are important to them and to make meaning of their experiences.

3. What kind of meaning-making evolves when pupils are allowed to express themselves in and through drama?

My epistemological point of departure is a holistic view, in which the model Schooling–Ecotone–Art represents three habitats in the ecosystem of primary school and to which the research questions are related.

1.3 Thesis overview

The second chapter is a literature review in which I present the theories informing my work and discuss the intercultural perspective in relation to primary school and drama practice. The chapter includes a historical analysis of drama in education in reference to its position in compulsory school in Sweden today and a review of critical perspectives on drama practice within the compulsory school context. Also, the conceptual framework is presented in addition to an elaboration of the metaphors employed in the thesis. Here, theoretical perspectives and concepts in drama pedagogy, relevant to the thesis are also accounted for. The chapter closes with a review of pupils' creative agency within the compulsory school context. In Chapter 3, I give my choice of methodology, critical ethnography, and a chronology of the study and fieldwork. In addition, my data collection methods and analysis tools are presented. Here I also present the participants in the project and respondents in the study. Finally, I discuss the question of translation, ethical considerations, reflexivity and my role as researcher and reflective partner in relation to teachers and drama pedagogues.

Chapters 4, 5 and 6, present the results and analysis of the empirics, and the results are divided in three parts related to the metaphorical model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art. Chapter 4 focuses on the tensions arising at the border of schooling and ecotone and the initial struggles for teachers and drama pedagogues as the project started. Chapter 5 describes the emerging progression, specifically, how stories came to be an important part in the drama practice and how drama as an 'un-cultivated area' and a 'safe haven' contributed to a deepened understanding of the possibilities in drama practice. Chapter 6 gives an analysis of the border of ecotone and art and the description of an event where two boys 'took charge' of their creative process, supported by their teacher. The chapter discusses the border at the ecotone and art and how pupils' agency, creativity and subjectification can be supported in the primary school context. Lastly, the chapter accounts for how the intercultural perspective was illuminated through the drama practice. The conclusion of my research findings is presented in Chapter 7. Here, I consider the answers to my research questions and the possible implications these may have on drama in primary school.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter is a review of the theoretical points of departure in the thesis, in which John Dewey's view of art, and his child-focused and experience-based epistemology is a part. I present the concepts of Michel Foucault, in which I employ, for example, the notions of power, discourse and the subject. Further, I account for Gert Biesta's critical perspective on today's education and his argument that qualification, socialization and subjectification are three equally important dimensions in what he calls a "good education". To make the links clear between these informing theories and drama in education, I draw upon Mike Fleming's practice-based thinking in particular. This concerns drama in compulsory school and involves notions of progression, quality in drama teaching, and the approaches of 'learning in' and 'learning through' drama. Additionally, I employ Björn Rasmussen's theories of drama as part of a culture–aesthetic practice and his idea of 'perspectivating' as a theoretical tool. In addition, I refer to an intercultural perspective related to a compulsory school context and its relevance for this study. Informed by Foucault's concept of genealogy, I present a historical analysis of drama in education in the Swedish perspective, which impacts the position for drama in primary school. Upon closing the chapter, I present critical perspectives on drama in education that further aim at positioning drama in education in Sweden today.

2.1 Dewey's epistemology

I consider my theoretical framework as holistic, encompassing an acknowledgement of the complexity where social phenomena and human experience are situated and influenced by a variety of happenings, which sometimes causes confusion and perplexity (Dewey, 1960) and challenge established paradigms (Stake, in: Denzin & Lincoln 2000). The use of a metaphorical model underscores my holistic view, where primary school is seen as an ecosystem and drama as an ecotone and where schools are depicted as part of society and drama as part of education. As a philosopher, John Dewey was interested in the practical implications of theories, which I find crucial in terms of drama pedagogy. His philosophy is characterized by a dialectical approach, and

the interaction between the individual and the social context is in focus in his pedagogy (1980). Dewey rejects strict formalized teaching, which he believes disturbs children's development. His critique on education encapsulates what I, in this thesis, describe as 'schooling', which encompasses orthodox epistemology and which today is paired with a rationalistic discourse (Adams & Owens, 2016; Biesta, 2011; Robinson; 2011). Dewey argues that children develop as they interact with the surrounding world, and therefore, education should emanate from their social lives and interests (Dewey, 1938, 1958, 1980) and thus compulsory school implies a function of socialization. This does not mean that there are low demands or expectations; pupils and teachers are expected to carry through inquiries, which does not mean arbitrary trial-and- error processes but purposeful, reflective and experimental problem-solving, in which logic and inference and testing are practiced (Dewey, 1958).

Dewey's philosophy resonates with drama pedagogy regarding his view of art as a basic human need. Art is necessary in order to comprehend life, which highlights the importance of aesthetic subjects in education (Dewey, 1934). Questioning education that infers isolated subjects not relevant to children in "a gallimaufry of isolated parts" (1980, p. 95 [my translation]), Dewey argues for what I denote as a 'holistic epistemology'. Based on this epistemology, I suggest that ecosystem can be used as metaphor for the primary school. This means that a school is, on the one hand, a system and a culture, with its specific environment that must be taken into consideration in practice and in research. However, on the other hand, this ecosystem is not isolated from its surrounding society but interlinked with it on many levels. Primary school is situated in a social, societal and cultural context in which the different subjects are relevant to each other and form a unit (Dewey, 1980):

> We do not have a series of different worlds, one mathematic, one physical and so on another historical and so on [...] We live in one world where all sides merge into each other' (1980, p. 95) [my translation]).

Critiquing schooling, Dewey states that it is not enough for pupils to reproduce already known knowledge. Further, given that children's way of learning is *to do* (Dewey, 1938, p. 19 [my italics]), aesthetic practice plays an important role in life and in society:

> Aesthetic experience is a manifestation, a record and celebration of the life of a civilization, a means of promoting its development, and is also the ultimate judgement upon the quality of a civilization. (Dewey, 1934, p. 339)

An important point in Dewey's thinking is his critique of an elitist perspective towards art, which resembles drama pedagogy in its view of the human need to express oneself in a non-competitive way, which is not dependent upon an audience (1934). Critiquing an elitist perspective on art implies opposition to the traditional Western categorization which distinguishes mind and body, suggesting that it is not possible for man to "know" something about reality beyond his own thinking. Dewey critiques the dualism that shows "contempt for the body, fear of the senses, and the opposition of flesh to spirit" (1934, p. 20). Drawn from Dewey, education shall adapt to pupils, not the contrary, and meet children's need to explore their curiosity and use their bodies and senses in learning processes. By history and tradition, we separate mind and body to the extent that we do not have words to express its liaisons, and therefore, Dewey introduced the concept of body-mind in order to re-establish its inevitable intersection: "body-mind simply designates what actually takes place when a living body is implicated in situations of discourse, communication and participation" (1958, p. 285). Body-mind acknowledges the importance of sensations, spatial circumstances, the use of materials and the organic structures which exist independently as well as in correlation in meaning-making processes (1958, p. 285). The intricate relation between mind and body is developed in current research, for example, by Swedish psychiatrist Hansen (2016) who suggests a clear link between physical activity, learning and mental health, and cognitive scientist Claxton (2015), who describes the human body as:

> a massive, seething, streaming collection of interconnected communication systems that bind the muscles, the stomach, the heart, the senses and the brain so tightly together that no part – especially the brain – can be seen as functionally separate from, or senior to, any other part (Claxton, 2015).

In an experience, things and events belonging to the world, physical and social, are transformed through the human context they enter, while the live creature is changed and developed through its intercourse with things previously external to it. (Dewey, 1934)

Play and playfulness and its attitude of freedom are instincts and should be appreciated and encouraged in education (Dewey, 1980) and expressing oneself artistically should be interrelated with work, and in this process, meaning finds its expression in the objects created and in the body (Dewey, 1958). In line with Dewey, 'meaning-making' employed in this thesis implies an active process in which the learner's agency is taken into account and presupposes involvement of the whole being – body and mind (See further 2.5). Dewey's philosophy is dialectical, seeking to bridge opposing standpoints. He argues for a scientific view in which observation, hypotheses and experiments should be basic elements in education. But he also underscores the importance of critical and reflective thinking, and there are several examples of contradictions and tensions in his writings (Burman, 2008). Dewey's philosophy leans on the relative as well as the particular (Burman, 2008) which is expressed, for example, in regard to play and imagination:

> Daydreaming, building of castles in the air, that loose flux of casual and disconnected material that floats through our minds in relaxed moments are, in this random sense, thinking. (Dewey, 1991, p. 2)

Drawn from Dewey, "Life goes on in an environment; not merely *in* it but because of it, through interaction with it" (1934, p. 12 [original italics]) and that the self would not become aware of itself without *resistance* from the surroundings. Development relies on the movement between obstacles, resistance, and order and harmony, where "changes interlock and sustain one another" (Dewey, 1934, p. 13). Dewey recognizes the importance of obstacles and resistance, but Pouwels and Biesta (2017) argue that he was too engaged in *resolving* contradictions and dualism to acknowledge the conditional nature of conflicts for education. In the current educational discourse dominated by a rationalistic view, conflicts are merely approached as something to eliminate in order to achieve and uphold efficiency (Biesta, 2006, 2011). Therefore, Biesta and Pouwels point to the need to question aspects of Dewey's thinking concerning his emphasizing of dialectics. This relates to my use of the ecotone metaphor, which is characterized by the tensions and disequilibrium in relation to its adjacent habitats. These tensions are central to the ecotone's characteristic feature and what brings about development and its diversity, which means that the tensions can be constructive even without 'resolving'.

One aspect of the necessity of tensions and conflicts is the need for problematizing and reflective thinking, which goes on in the process of socialization (Dewey, 1960). As in creative work and aesthetic processes, Dewey explains that "the origin of thinking is some perplexity, confusion, or doubt" (1960, p. 15). The responsibility for education is to develop reflective thinking since humans have a propensity to accept conclusions that seem vivid and interesting, even if the data fails to support them (Dewey, 1960). Referring to scientific history, Dewey states that people often defend errors rather than question them and look for new directions. He continues:

> One can think reflectively only when one is willing to endure suspense and to undergo the trouble of searching […] To be genuinely thoughtful, we must be willing to sustain thorough inquiry, so as not to accept an idea or make positive assertion of a belief until justifying reasons have been found. (Dewey, 1960, p. 16)

Thus, Dewey is in some respects normative, as he claims that the purpose of education is to *serve* society and he states that schools should "be made societies in miniature" in order to "train all children for membership in this society" (1980, p. 65), which implies that society is possible to frame and determine. However, Dewey also stresses that "knowledge is not static, but floating" (1980, p. 63) and that pupils should be able to ask the questions they find meaningful, which may differ to what the curriculum or teachers dictate. Dewey argues that preparing children for a future life is letting them "dispose of themselves" (1980, p. 40), which suggests that teaching should support children's agency and their motivation to explore and discover new kinds of knowledge and not just adapt to prevailing conditions.

To conclude, I draw on Dewey based on his philosophy that pupils view the world holistically and education should recognize that as a quality, implying that teaching should connect with pupils' social lives and their curiosity and interests and not just offer them the reproduction of already known knowledge. Further, practical implications are important in teaching, and conditions for inquiry, problem-solving and reflection are needed in qualitative education. In reference to drama pedagogy, I lean on Dewey's view that art and aesthetic practice is a basic human need and should therefore be part of education. This further points to the importance of the acknowledgement of the 'body-mind' which includes a holistic approach to pupils' learning, in which following through

with experiences and reflection is part of meaning-making processes in a social context. Additionally, I take Dewey's point that preparing pupils for the future means that education must support children's agency, rather than just expecting them to adapt to existing society.

2.2 Foucauldian perspectives

Dewey's philosophy is concerned with epistemology, aesthetics and concrete ideas of how to organize education and how to approach pupils in the school context. I will now turn to Michel Foucault, who did not write much about education specifically, but much of his analysis, theories and concepts are relevant to educational and epistemological perspectives. I employ Foucault's genealogical perspective when analysing the historical position of drama in compulsory school, leading to the current situation in Sweden today (2.5), and in addition, I draw on his theories of discourse, power and 'the subject' in the analysis of my empirics.

As I started my doctoral studies, one thing I was interested in is to understand the marginalized position of drama in compulsory school in Sweden and why it is not a mandatory subject as music and visual art are.[7] There are some obvious reasons for this, for example, that drama historically has been a part of language and literary studies and thereby not seen as a subject in its own right. However, as I did not see this as a satisfactory explanation, I turned to Foucault's genealogical method, in which he argues that historical analyses cannot be conducted solely in terms of linear development because it will lead not only to reduction but also to distortion (1984). Foucault constantly remodeled his thinking, which is in line with his philosophy of continuously questioning established 'truths', and an important perspective in his genealogy concept. A genealogical perspective seeks the diverse and divergent circumstances which make a certain phenomenon possible to emerge and develop, and others not possible. A genealogical analysis takes in account

> accidents, the minute deviations – or conversely, the complete reversals – the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us. (Foucault, 1984, p. 81)

[7] In Swedish, the school subject of visual art is called *bild*, which translates as 'image' in English.

An essential theme in Foucault's genealogical investigations is power, especially how society's strategies to establish and maintain power relations are directed towards the citizens and their bodies. In his historical analysis, Foucault describes how 'authoritarian power' that was exercised through kings and feudal lords was later transformed into 'disciplinary power' carried out through institutions, social production and service (Foucault, 1980). In order to be effective, the disciplinary power needed to be incorporated in "the bodies of individuals, to their acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour" (Foucault, 1980, p. 125). A consequence of the emergence of disciplinary power was related to the school system to make "children's bodies the object of highly complex systems of manipulation and conditioning" (1980, p. 125). Foucault claims that, by diverse phenomena in history, for example, the Industrial Revolution, epidemic diseases, soldiers' training and educational systems, various kinds of coercion have served to produce 'docile bodies' in society. A historical consequence is that the capacity of citizens' bodies became linked to utility (1984, p. 182). The extensive impact of historical and cultural developments and the changes these had on man's bodies (Foucault, 1987) means that the body is a historically and culturally formed entity which has been approached and experienced in different ways but also created different kinds of resistance throughout history:

> We believe, in any event, that the body obeys the exclusive laws of physiology and that it escapes the influence of history, but this too is false. The body is molded by a great many distinct regimes; it is broken down by the rhythms of work, rest, and holidays; it is poisoned by food or values, through eating habits or moral laws; it constructs resistances. (Foucault, 1984, p. 87)

The body, and the diverse experiences and expressions moulded through it, is at the core of drama, and consequently tensions arise in relation to the orthodox schooling tradition, where bodies are expected to be controlled and docile. The schooling discourse is changing as part of changes in society, but an essential part of children's adjustment to schooling still concerns expectations to control bodies, in which disciplinary power is a part (Dixon, 2011; Slade, 1995; Øksnes, 2011). By an analysis of drama in education, I suggest there are divergent circumstances, for example, the control of pupils' bodies, which explains why drama has not become a discrete subject in compulsory school. Drama practice requires time and space for pupils to follow through

experiences and express themselves through their bodies, which often contradicts the schooling discourse. Further, drama practice requires the negotiating of power, as the traditional positions of teacher and pupil are deconstructed (Hallgren, 2018; Neelands, 1984; Rasmussen, 2001). In reference to drama as an ecotone, Foucault's analysis of disciplinary power and its consequences for the body points to drama as a space, physically, corporally and mentally, which allows resistance towards orthodox schooling. Though the nature of an ecotone is characterized by its in-between position, being un-cultivated and wild, its practice is not easily subsumed into utility and docility. The result is that drama as an ecotone creates tensions in relation to schooling.

By analysing prisons, mental hospitals and schools, Foucault elucidates how the partitioning and isolating of space and time as well as the controlling of bodies serves to maintain power in institutional practices (1980, 1984). Research shows that this is currently valid. In her Foucauldian analysis of a primary school in Australia, Dixon shows how regimes of truth within the schooling tradition still reproduce disciplinary power through controlling bodies, time and space (2011). Her analysis describes the hard work teachers put into training, managing, and controlling children and how the pupils internalize institutional behaviour, which, through time, becomes invisible (Dixon, 2011). The internalization of a subject's latitude relates to what Bourdieu denotes as 'habitus', which describes the internalized social positions, strategies and actions common to all members of the same group or class (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 86). But at the same time, habitus is generative. According to Bourdieu, "It's a kind of transforming machine that leads us to 'reproduce' the social conditions of our own production, but in a relatively unpredictable way" (Bourdieu, 1992).

Hannus and Simola note that Bourdieu's and Foucault's thinking is often seen as incompatible, but they claim this is based on a misunderstanding and that Foucault's theories of power related to Bourdieu's educational research complement one another (2010). In an investigation of the parallels in Bourdieu's and Foucault's ideas of power related to compulsory schooling, Hannus and Simola conclude that Foucault contributes by taking into account the historical and multi-layered character of power and governance on a political level (2010). Bourdieu, on his part, offers

tools to analyse how structure and the hierarchy of positions develop in schools and how the prevailing culture and social order is transmitted and challenged (Hannus & Simola, 2010).

Concerning drama and habitus, McKinnon asserts that devising[8] is a common approach to encourage participants' agency and active involvement in the work, but this does not automatically liberate one from the restraining functions of habitus. However, it has the potential to illuminate the potentially oppressive aspects of habitus and thus offers the opportunity for interrogation and change (McKinnon, 2016). And, as Neelands claims, drama cannot in itself teach in any kind of way, nor can it, in itself, be powerful. It is what we do *with* drama, through our own human agency, that matters (Neelands, 2004, p. 48, original italics). Nevertheless, due to its nature, drama questions the schooling orthodoxy and thereby aspects of habitus. Moreover, by describing drama as an ecotone, assumptions of space, time and bodily expressions are illuminated and possibly questioned. Given that drama is a corporal, group-based practice which generates physical energy, the use of space is a central aspect. Drama requires open spaces where pupils can move around, which is not easily done in the traditional classroom. Additionally, creative processes in groups take time, and as in all creative work, qualitative drama practice is hard to fit into a strict timetable. Controlling bodies, space and time is a question of power and thereby related to epistemology and how learning is viewed. The structures of 'the truth' in society, and thereby in education are described by Foucault as regimes of truth that decide what is acceptable and what is not (Foucault, 1980). The regime of truth is consequently also incorporated in the hierarchies of knowledge, in which natural science holds a higher status than social science and the humanities. Accordingly, drama as part of social science and the humanities is marginalized (Adams & Owens, 2016; Dewey, 1934; Robinson, 2011).

According to Foucault, power is not something solely exercised by various governments, institutions or leaders but rather an aspect of every human encounter, it is "a productive network which runs through the whole social body" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119). Power is constantly present in all relations. It is used as strategies and simultaneously plays a conditioning, as well as

[8] Devising is a method in drama and theatre practice in which participants are given agency to design the creative process and product.

conditioned, role (Foucault, 1980). In cases where they do not, Foucault argues that it is then not a question of power but rather a matter of oppression. However, there is no power without resistance, and "like power, resistance is multiple and can be integrated in global strategies" (Foucault, 1980, p. 142). Due to the in-between position of drama, space and time are altered and by this contextual shift, it offers conditions to negotiate power, which can channel resistance towards disciplinary power and schooling.

An additional aspect of power that Foucault developed has come to be termed 'governmentality' (Foucault, 1984; Nilsson, 2008), which concerns the subject's readiness to govern themselves. Governmentality involves the subject's different techniques through which norms and values are accepted and internalized. It could also be described as the progression of identity. Governmentality works through the interrelation between society's norms and discourses and the subject's thinking and acting, like, for example, by pupils adapting to school norms (Foucault, 1980; Dixon, 2011). Governmentality appears to fall in line with the subject's own choices and decisions but is nevertheless always interrelated with political, societal and discursive dimensions (Foucault, 1980). In this thesis, governmentality concerns two dimensions in the drama practice. On one side is the pupils' insecurity about what they are really allowed to express, for example, in regard to imagination and improvisation, and on the other side are the pupils who provoke in order to resist schooling, to push boundaries and negotiate power.

Drawn from Foucault, 'discourse' is pertinent to the human development as a subject. Through the studies of linguistic regularities, Foucault investigated what he initially called 'discursive formations' (1972), which are defined not only by their content but also by what they exclude, which impacts the development of identity. Unlike Norman Fairclough (see Chapter 3.5), Foucault claims that nothing exists outside the discourse (Foucault, 1972, 1993). Foucault did not deny the existence of a non-discursive reality (e.g. a sudden accident and the pain that follows it), but this reality is only tangible through mediation, that is to say through language (Foucault, 1972, 1993; Nilsson, 2008). Foucault argues that discourses delimit our possibilities to express ourselves but also offer the potential for the subject to be creative, that is to say, within the discourse:

> We know perfectly well that we are not free to say just anything, that we cannot speak of anything, when we like or where we like; not just anyone, finally, may speak of anything. (Foucault, 1971, p. 8)

A strong driving force in the formation of discursive orders is the human will to knowledge and to truth, according to Foucault (1993). This means that institutional systems, including education, strive to define and delimit what is knowledge and what is true or not. In this process, comprehensive exclusion mechanisms have been continuously in use throughout history (Foucault, 1993). Regarding education, Foucault pointed out that the humanities differs from natural science in the sense that, in the humanities, man is simultaneously the subject and the object of the knowledge produced (Foucault, 1984, 1993; Nilsson, 2008). This implies that the 'truth' within the humanities has constituting effects on the objects of study, which means that we become subjects through this knowledge. Becoming who we are is at the same time to create ourselves. By investigating the meaning of discourse, Foucault strove to question the orthodox borders for the subject and the different knowledge fields as well as the maintenance of the distinctions between the different sciences and philosophies.

> I am supposing that in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures, whose role is to avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality. (Foucault, 1971, p. 8)

The safeguarding of discourses builds on various classification and categorization principles. What Foucault describes as 'discursive exclusion procedures' include practices aimed at sustaining traditional hierarchies. The safeguarding of discourses is implemented by maintaining categories, research fields, genres and subject matter and 'locking' them for example in the written word, "the book" (1993, p. 53). Thereby, deconstructing and questioning discourses are met with resistance and made perilous. In my analysis, I suggest that historically, drama has discursively been restricted within language teaching in order to maintain a traditional hierarchy and reject the "power, danger and ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1971, p. 8) of its nature, for example, by acknowledgment of the body-mind (Dewey, 1958). Society's discursive exclusion procedures rely on institutional support from schooling and how knowledge is valued, distributed

and dispensed (Foucault, 1993). What society formulates as 'the truth' may appear assuring and appealing, but the underlying force of delimiting this truth by discursive exclusion procedures remains continuously unseen and therefore not possible to question (Foucault, 1993). Drama is formulated in the curriculum as an aesthetic form of expression that all pupils should encounter, learn to "understand" and "be able to use" (Lgr11), but simultaneously, it is made almost impossible by the educational hierarchy, structure and organization.

By employing Foucault's genealogical perspective, which questions a linear analysis of historical development, I intend to analyse the marginalization of drama in compulsory school. Further, I utilize the concepts of regime of truth and disciplinary power in relation to space, time and bodies in primary school, and how it elucidates the tensions created at the border of schooling and the ecotone. Through Foucault's concepts of governmentality and discourse, I discuss aspects of the development of the subject which relate to the perception of identity.

2.3 Biesta's critical perspectives on education

In the previous section, I have contextualized my research on Dewey's epistemological philosophy which I connect to certain Foucauldian concepts relevant to the educational context. In order to relate my study to contemporary educational research, I draw on Gert Biesta's critical perspective. In his analyses, Biesta refers to Foucault as well as Dewey when critiquing taken-for-granted truths and underscoring the importance of asking fundamental questions within the field of epistemology and education (Biesta, 2006, 2011, Pouwels & Biesta, 2017).

Biesta claims that a discursive turn has taken place in education during the last few decades, which has meant a change where the concept of education is narrowed into the notion of 'learning' (2006). This learnification discourse is the result of a series of adjustments in education in order for pupils' achievements to become efficient, evidence-based and measurable (Biesta, 2006). Evidence-based research originates from medicine and depends on a causality, and consequently the learnification discourse refers to a kind of professional intervention that is expected to result in effective learning. Tools to secure effective learning are considered to be

enhanced assessment, measurement and accountability (Biesta, 2011). The battle of different perspectives and discourses in education has, of course, been present throughout history, but Biesta claims that the current focus on effective learning presents a new layer to this debate (2002, 2006, 2011). In the following, I refer to this as a 'rationalistic epistemology' since it permeates different layers of education.

When focusing on effective learning, important questions such as *efficiency for whom?* and *for what?* are largely missing and thereby important development in practice and research is hindered. Therefore, Biesta argues for investigations of current education, where the basic question, *what is a good education?* is analysed in a thorough way. Further, he claims that the question of the purpose of education and what it is for in relation to society and the individual should be constantly present in research and practice (2011). Education is an ethical practice and not technical, hence efficiency should not be in focus but rather the potential of pedagogical values in teaching (Biesta, 2011). A crucial point in Dewey's epistemology, which Biesta draws on, is that its premise does not build on the dualism of the "immaterial spirit and the material world", as Western society inherited from Descartes (Biesta, 2011, p. 44). Like Dewey and contrary to a dualistic view, Biesta argues that actions, reflections and experiences and their consequences are crucial in knowledge production. This presents an alternative to the evidence-based view which strives to formulate rules for how we should learn and act. A rationalistic education does not allow unexpected discoveries and questions, which are necessary detours in creative and meaning-making processes (Dewey, 1934; Liedman, 2012).[9] Education's aim for efficiency does not give the time and possibility to explore, make mistakes, or follow through experiences (Dewey, 1934). Biesta, in line with Dewey and Foucault, argues for an epistemology which gives room for continued exploration and discussion, which is crucial in a democratic society (Biesta, 2006, 2011).

As described, in Biesta's discussion of the purpose and aims of education, he suggests three equally important dimensions: qualification, socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2011).

[9] The Swedish professor in History of Ideas, Sven Liedman, argues for the importance of detours in education (2012).

Qualification concerns equipping pupils and students with the knowledge, competence and understanding to be able to take part in society and eventually learn a profession. Qualification is, as Biesta points out, one of organized education's most important assignments and "a motive for having education financed by the state in the first place" (2011, p. 28). The second dimension is socialization, which is related to the variety of ways through which individuals become part of society in social, cultural and political orders. Socialization incorporates pupils into existing structures and behaviours by conveying norms and values but is also open for negotiation and change through human interaction. Socialization comprises introducing the subject to social, cultural and political contexts. Whether this dimension is acknowledged or not, education will always have a socializing effect (Biesta, 2011).

Education always raises questions regarding the third dimension, subjectification, as it creates conditions, or not, for individuals to become autonomous in thinking and action (Biesta, 2011). The relation between socialization and subjectification is complex, and Biesta underscores the complexity of the question of whether or not education really enables subjectification. Drawn from Biesta, in order to create conditions for subjectification, the subject should not be approached as a 'newcomer' in an already fixed order but rather as a unique and 'different' person (Biesta, 2011). Consequently, education's assignment is not to ask the pupil to conform to the existing order in school and in society; on the contrary, its assignment is to create conditions for the individual to develop uniqueness, its differentness. Further, this differentness comes about through the encounter and interaction with others' differentness. Subjectification involves interaction in which the subject can be independent of the social order, but at the same time, influence it as well as be influenced by it. According to Biesta (2006, 2011, see also Freire, 1972), to what extent education really supports the subject's autonomy is not easily established but clearly points to aspects concerning quality in education.

Discussing the perception of the subject, Biesta refers to Foucault and agrees with his critique of humanism, in that it should be possible to define and pinpoint the essence of the subject and what it is to be human. The main problem with humanism, according to Foucault and Biesta, is

that the human is understood as a 'what', an 'object', and one example among all other humans. Instead, the subject should be viewed as a 'who', which recognizes a unique, particular, and exclusive subject in relation to others (Biesta, 2006). It follows that subjects are 'becoming' through relations with other subjects who are different, a person who is not what others are, and implies that education should support pupils in "breaking into the world as unique individuals" (Biesta, 2006, p. 7). Biesta encapsulates his epistemological view by describing it as "pedagogy of disruption", in which the importance of the subjectification process is a key issue (2011, p. 78). In the postmodern society, education has served to implement the enlightenment ideals of the subject's rational autonomy, which imply the exercise of self-control and decisiveness. The rationalistic epistemology has further enforced this and added another layer to it. This has underscored the possibility to identify deviations from the norm, the categorization of pupils, and thereby the many diagnoses placed on children today (Robinson, 2011). However, in order to sustain a democratic education, the complexity of subjectification in education must be acknowledged:

> To be a subject, to 'break into the world', is only possible if our 'beginnings' are met by other [beginnings] in unprecedented, unpredictable and uncontrollable ways. In this sense, being a subject really does encompass a dimension by being subordinated, which is unprecedented, alien and different. (Biesta, 2006, p. 128 [my translation])

Drama is relevant for qualification, socialization and subjectification, but drawing on Biesta, the qualification dimension is prioritized in the current educational discourse – one in which drama is a marginalized practice. I consider the three dimensions as non-normative perspectives of education in the sense that they are all equally important. The metaphor of primary school as ecosystem also comprises a model which contains three areas, Schooling–Ecotone–Art, and my intention is to view these areas in a non-normative perspective as well. However, it presupposes the critique of an orthodox view of schooling in which disciplinary power and the learnification discourse is the ideal. I consider schooling, ecotone and art equally necessary in primary school, and that drama as a subject and learning medium is relevant to all three dimensions.

The discursive turn and aesthetics

The discursive turn in education described by Biesta sheds light on the reasons for the diminution of aesthetic subjects in compulsory education (Adams & Owens, 2016; Bamford, 2006; Fleming, 2012; Piasecka, 2016; Robinson, 2011), as it implies a change to viewing education as an economic transaction. The positioning of pupils as consumers and teachers as the suppliers of knowledge displays a hierarchy, and the distinct separation of subjects serves to control assessments and grading (Biesta, 2006). The economic discourse suggests that the pupil/customer knows what they need and that their demands should be fulfilled by the supplier/teacher. This view is in contrast to that of education as an explorative process in which one can discover things one did not know and formulate new questions. Like my own and other drama practitioners' experiences, teachers often express ambiguity towards drama practice: they believe that drama is good for the pupils, but it should not take too much time and space (Fleming 2012). Piasecka (2012) refers to her research project in a compulsory school where teachers spoke positively about drama and creative work in their classes, but simultaneously doubted its utility in helping children pass national tests. Similar signs could be noted in the project at Dalhem School in Grade Four, in which more emphasis is put on evaluation and grading than in Grades One, Two and Three. A rationalistic view focuses on the partition of subjects and knowledge in order to be easily measured, which opposes a holistic view that strives for the understanding of context, complexity and relationships in learning processes. Elliot Eisner describes this in other words:

> The aim of the educational process [through art] inside schools is not to finish something, but to start something. It is not to cover the curriculum, but to uncover it. (Eisner, 2002, p. 90)

In my view, a holistic epistemology implies that learning is a question of "detours" (Dewey, 1934, p. 2), which is a creative process of "bringing something new into the world" (Biesta, 2006, p. 68) involving "dissension and disparity" (Foucault, 1984, p. 79). Liedman claims that new insights demand detours and therefore require a readiness to step outside well-known areas (Liedman, 2012, p. 58). Contrary to this view, Robinson (2011) points out that national educational systems were developed during the Industrial Revolution and were "not only designed in the *interests* of industrialism, they were created in *its image* in terms of both structure and culture" (p. 53 [my

italics]), in which rationality and efficiency are the focus. Drawn from Adams and Owens, the measurement culture "is a thin disguise for a system that is determined principally by economics" (2016, p. 15). The consequences are that components and features that can be measured are highly valued, while those that cannot "are marginalised or eliminated altogether" (Adams & Owens, 2016, p. 15).

Ball describes the discursive turn in terms of 'the terrors of performativity' (2003) and 'the tyranny of numbers' (2015) where constant measurement documents our investments in time and effort and how it in the end, decides the value of self. The performativity culture comprehends regulation by judgement, comparison and control, based on rewards and sanctions (2003), which are all features in opposition to artistic and aesthetic work. According to Robinson, problems in education are approached from a view of 'septic focus', namely, the tendency to look at a problem in isolation from its context (Robinson, 2011, p. 62). In a rationalistic education, septic focus makes sense because it denies complexity and wants to eliminate disruptions and detours, but from a holistic perspective, it is problematic given that the correct diagnoses of the problems will not be possible to make. Robinson argues that humanity's best resource in the 21st century is abilities of imagination, creativity and innovation and that "while industrial systems may be standardized, mechanistic and linear, human life simply is not" (2011, p. 59). In drama, a holistic view on human life is important and the pupils' emotional engagement is seen as a resource and should be viewed as an integrated part of the learning process, as described by Bolton:

> …because drama is such a powerful tool for helping people change, as teachers we need to be very sensitive to the emotional demands we make on our pupils. The notion of "protection" is not necessarily concerned with protecting participants *from* emotion, for unless there is some kind of emotional engagement nothing can be learned, but rather to protect them *into* emotion. This requires a careful grading of structures toward an effective equilibrium so that self-esteem, personal dignity, personal defences and group security are never over-challenged. (Bolton, 1984, p. 128)

The justification of art in education and drama in compulsory school has been argued for in many ways throughout history (Bamford, 2006; Braanaas, 1985; Fleming, 2012; Rasmussen, 2001; Robinson, 2011; Sternudd, 2000) and is now facing another level of resistance in the current

discursive order (Adams & Owens, 2016; Fleming, 2012; Robinson, 2011). Due to drama not being a mandatory subject in compulsory school, its position is even more vulnerable than music and visual art. Practitioners and teachers who advocate for drama in school are thereby forced to come up with even more arguments, and drama runs the risk of being used as a 'blotting paper' to soak up present trends in order to defend its survival instead of developing its own theoretical platforms, conception, research and practice (Rasmusson, 2000, p. 263).

To summarize, the discursive turn presents a new layer to the rationalistic epistemology in education, which includes a narrowing of education into learning. The learnification discourse encompasses adjustments for learning to become efficient, evidence-based and measurable (Biesta, 2006). However, efficiency should not be in focus, but rather the potential of pedagogical values as education is an ethical practice and not technical. A rationalistic epistemology neglects profound questions, which should be continuously processed in a democratic society, like, for example, what does a good education mean in the present society? In order to address profound questions, not only the qualification aspect in education be given prominence but also socialization and subjectification, as they are equally important (Biesta, 2011). While researchers like Robinson argue that humanity's best resource in the 21st century is abilities of imagination, creativity and innovation (2011), the discursive turn in education has further underscored the hierarchy of knowledge fields leading to the marginalization of art and aesthetics, as the separation of subjects serves to control assessments and grading (Biesta, 2006). In other words, the learnification discourse opposes a holistic view in education, in which art and aesthetic subjects are important parts.

Intercultural perspectives in education

In addition to the review previously presented, it is necessary to address an intercultural perspective not only due to the characteristics of the school in focus, Dalhem School, but also because the question of interculturality is an essential aspect of compulsory school practice in Sweden today (Elmeroth, 2018; Lahdenperä & Sundgren, 2016; Lorentz & Bergstedt, 2016).

The current situation in Sweden, as in many other European countries, is that schools in many cities are segregated. Families that have recently come to Sweden or children whose parents have migrated often live in segregated and so-called socio-economic vulnerable areas and attend schools in those same neighbourhoods. The result is that, in many schools in the big cities in Sweden, there are few or no pupils that have Swedish as their first language, which is the case at Dalhem School. Drawn from Lahdenperä (2004), intercultural teaching is stipulated by UN and UNESCO, to which Sweden has consented. Lahdenperä claims that in order to support pupils' identity and socialization, borders must be crossed in the educational context (Lahdenperä, 2004). This means that if epistemological assumptions are not questioned from an intercultural perspective among school staff, it may reinforce ethnocentric norms and prejudice. Further, if intercultural issues are not acknowledged and processed openly, pupils that do not master the Swedish language risk being in a compromised position (Lahdenperä, 2004).

A linguistic habitus reveals class and cultural background (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992), and attending a school where most of the pupils do not master Swedish risks cementing this habitus and it becoming a part of one's identity. Drawn from Delamont (2012), an intrinsic human motive is to maintain a positive sense of self-worth, and feeling excluded can cause disruptive behaviour as a reaction. To this backdrop, Delamont states that the research body of ethnography and social identity shows the importance of not approaching children and youngsters as 'problem students' (2012). Education which is highly stratified, predicated on individual competition, and disconnected from the social lives of minority or disadvantaged pupils does not support pupils' motivation or development, according to Delamont (2012).

Drawn from Fleming (2006), the concept of intercultural education has two basic elements. One has to do with acquiring the appropriate knowledge of and attitudes towards other cultures, and the other has to do with a willingness to relativize one's own perspectives. In both perspectives, drama can play an important part through the investigation of different perspectives by role-taking. Further, entering fictive situations creates a safe space where issues can be processed.

However, Fleming argues that in order to create the best conditions for this work, it is important *not to remain in the area of traditional mimesis*, even if imitating 'real' life often compels pupils:

> In order to achieve intercultural awareness, contemporary approaches to teaching drama that use more non-naturalistic conventions (e.g., freeze-frame, monologue, questioning characters in role) paradoxically take pupils closer to the true nature of the art form in which the concept of "decentering" is central. (Fleming, 2006)

By decentering, participants can be emotionally engaged yet distant and can feel safe in exploring a situation from another angle. Fleming points out that creating a scene in order to investigate cultural differences generates the opportunity to alight on a concrete situation without the need to fully understand its context. The framed situation creates a 'closed culture' which paradoxically allows the investigation of the complexity due to the simplification (2003). Entering a role engages the whole person intellectually, emotionally as well as physically and gives participants the freedom to explore different aspects without any real responsibility for one's actions. At its best, drama encourages participants to become open for "the new" at the same time as being rooted in the familiar (Fleming, 2003).

At the centre of intercultural teaching is language. Dewey questions language as "the chief instrument in schooling", as he argues that language is not identical to thinking. It is not just "the garb, or clothing of thought" or a tool for conveying thoughts (1960, p. 230). Language first and foremost aims for communication rather than just transferring information or performing one's achievements (Dewey, 1980). Dewey criticizes orthodox schooling for forcing pupils to say only what they have been taught to say instead of letting them express themselves out of curiosity and interest: "having to say something is a very different matter from having something to say" (1960, p. 246). Fleming points out that aesthetic subjects may be considered in terms of the benefits for the individual rather than the community. However, language within drama is never isolated from its sociocultural context. Likewise, education should not just be about the individual or curricula or syllabi but also concern relations to societal challenges as well as approaches to, and the understanding of, culture (Fleming, 2006). Aesthetic subjects in education offer settings to express oneself and communicate through different channels and in a various of ways. Drama

creates conditions for active participation even though one may not master the spoken language (Kalogirou, Beauchamp & Whyte, 2019; Sayers Adomat, 2012). Integrating a fictive dimension and bodily expressions in the teaching takes the pressure away from having to express everything in exactly the right words, which is described by the teachers in the Dalhem School project. Aesthetic subjects encourage participants to find their own voice, and according to MacGregor Wise, intercultural awareness is built *in relation to* identity, not as fixed positions:

> Rather than thinking of culture as roots, as people belonging to particular places, traditions and practices, we need to think of culture as routes, as the movement of peoples, goods, ideas from place to place. (2008, p. 27)

Winston and Lin (2015) describe the potential of utilizing drama and stories to investigate pupils' different understandings of stories due to their diverse cultural preferences. They highlight that carefully chosen stories open up for intercultural reflection, and they are useful theoretically and as pragmatic and ethical lenses. Carefully chosen stories can

> recognize these aspects and envisage the importance of difference but also of sameness and connectivity, of distinctive cultural resources but also of two-way flow, of "routes" between as well as "roots" within cultures. (Winston & Lin, 2015, p. 210)

The idea that we are all included in a flow where we constantly move in personal and collective "routes" resonates with the school as ecosystem and the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art. When pupils are able to move between the different habitats of Schooling-Ecotone-Art, they become exposed to different corporal, cognitive, emotional and linguistic environments that require them to respond in different ways. Bourdieu's concept of habitus problematizes the possibilities for movements in personal and collective routes, but, as he points out, concepts should not be fossilized but made to work in research, which is how they gradually improve (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 78). This opens up the idea of an 'aesthetic habitus', underlining the importance of diversity and acknowledging the multimodality in school practice. An aesthetic habitus recognizes that aesthetic features are present within all areas, for example, in design, sounds, sensuous experiences, body language and images. Schooling–Ecotone–Art supports different aspects of an aesthetic habitus, puts different demands on pupils, and offers different opportunities. To expect

ecotone/drama and art to adjust to schooling is to deprive pupils of the possibilities of a broadened aesthetic habitus and broader life experiences.

2.4 The implications of Ecosystem and Ecotone

The following section elaborates my view on a holistic epistemology, multimodality and diversity, primary school as ecosystem and the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art as part of this system. Further, theoretical perspectives and concepts in drama pedagogy, as applied in this thesis, are defined. The chapter closes with two examples of how pupils' creative agency is approached in the compulsory school context.

Drawn from Patton, the use of metaphors can be "powerful ways of connecting with readers of qualitative studies" but underscores that they must be chosen carefully, letting the metaphor serve the data and not the other way around (Patton, 2002, p. 505). Using ecosystem as a metaphor for primary school and ecotone for drama is either startling or radical, and the idea of a 'third space' and a space 'in-between' has been used by several writers in relation to drama, for example, Rasmussen, who I refer to in this thesis (2001) (see also Greenwood, 2001; Rodricks, 2015; Woodson, 2015). However, I suggest that there is a resemblance between the fields of ecology and education, and that drama as an ecotone contributes with more layers in order to understand drama within the primary school context. Much like Biesta's three equally important dimensions in education – qualification, socialization and subjectification – my metaphorical model also contains three areas, Schooling–Ecotone–Art, which are equally as important. However, I argue that ecotone/drama and art are considerably marginalized. Against this backdrop, a critical perspective towards qualification and schooling are more elaborated than in other dimensions and areas.

Multimodality and diversity

Pointing to changes in society and in the education field, Selander and Kress present a complementary view to traditional epistemological theories, which can be summarized as communication as the creating-of-signs concerning how information is processed and

transformed into ‘knowledge’. In this perspective, multimodality is at the core, and learning is seen as meaning-making communication (Selander & Kress, 2010, p. 8). Selander and Kress do not aim to re-organize education or place theories but claim that even though prerequisites and terms for learning have undergone great change, educational paradigms have remained quite stable. Behaviourism, constructivism and socio-cultural theories have dominated educational theory for decades (Selander & Kress, 2010). They state that neurophysiology and neuropsychology are gaining ground within research about learning, and the field is under pressure from ideological standpoints. In addition, in reference to fragmentation and the handling of information (Selander & Kress, 2010), globalization and technological development make demands on the enhanced understanding of education and cultural capital.

The characteristic of diversity in an ecotone can be related to Selander and Kress and their use of the notion of multimodality, which involves the diversity of resources available in the school environment. Selander and Kress argue that, in a global and digitalized world, a multimodal view of communication is needed (2010). This implies that educational theory and practice need to consider multimodal perspectives on teaching and learning. However, the rationalistic discourse tends to rely on a traditional view which separates mind and body and prioritizes logo-centric education, that is, an education in which words, texts and language have a privileged position (Selander & Kress, 2010) and assessments are dominated by written tests (Biesta, 2006, 2011; Ball, 2015). On the other hand, aesthetic subjects and arts problematize the logo-centric and rationalistic view, given that they include multimodal expressions and build on exploration and investigation. They value multimodal expressions and channels, but images, sounds and bodily expressions are however not easily measured and made effective. Drawn from Selander and Kress (2010), the point of departure for a multimodal perspective is to acknowledge the whole range of resources available for interpreting the world and the meaning-making process:

> Artefacts, gestures, words and symbols does not mean anything within themselves. They receive their significance in the social context where they have been created and where they are being utilized. (Selander & Kress, 2010, p. 26)

Multimodality does not only refer to different modes as sounds or bodily expressions but also to the many nuances in every mode. Dewey writes, “We may indeed speak of red”, but “In existence no two sunsets have exactly the same red” (1934, p. 223). A variety of modes can be utilized in teaching and as further resources for pupils to process different content and in order to express themselves. In line with this, Dewey underlines that “language comes infinitely short of paralleling the variegated surface of nature” (1934, p. 224). Further, cultural framing is always present in education, which is why taking meaning-making processes into account through multimodality is crucial (Selander & Kress, 2010).

In the school project at Dalhem School, Swedish teaching was a prioritized matter, and drama was viewed as a form of expression and a meaning-making practice, even though the teachers did not have access to the terminology to describe these aspects. In drama, language is seen in a broad context and does not just refer to the verbal practice of communicating and expressing oneself. Drama practice offers opportunities for developing language, not only in the technical way of learning how to write, read, talk and listen but also in a functional way in the context of learning *and* meaning-making, and thus developing language in a multimodal perspective. The multimodal perspective, which is anchored in social semiotics, implies that language is not simply a description of reality (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Drawn from Biesta (2006), language is practice, and a description is merely *one* aspect of language. Further, Dewey stresses that, although language is an instrument for logic, its purpose is communication (1980, p. 45). Taking this into account, the diversity of language and multimodality are key in understanding meaning- making as a pedagogical perspective.

Primary school as an ecosystem

Ecosystem and ecotone as metaphors presuppose a holistic epistemology, as drama in education is an area of knowledge that has ramifications in several fields: theatre, pedagogy, sociology and psychology (Bamford, 2006; Braanaas, 1985; Fleming, 2012; Rasmussen, 2001; Rasmusson; 2000; Sternudd, 2000). Falling in line with a key concept in this thesis, tension, Ricoeur describes the unavoidable tension immanent in metaphors, for example, between tenor and vehicle and

between focus and frame. Further, the literal interpretation of the chosen word, for example, ecosystem, perishes at the hand of the "semantic impertinence" of the metaphorical interpretation whose sense emerges through non-sense (Ricouer, 1977, p. 292). However, by acknowledging this tension and consent to imagination, the use of metaphors can possibly serve as vehicles for widened understanding. Employing a holistic perspective in this study, I see drama pedagogy as complex and part of a field that is "more than the sum of its parts" (Patton, 2002, p. 41). A holistic perspective offers the possibility to recognize context, interdependences, complexity and idiosyncrasies (Patton, 2002) and that drama as well as other practices in primary school must be approached in its societal and cultural context. Dewey claims that all "lifeforms" are needed and worth living for their own sake (1980, p. 41). He describes his holistic view in relation to children and education (1958):

> The child's life is an integral, a total one. He passes quickly and readily from one topic to another, as from one spot to another, but is not conscious of transition or break. There is no conscious isolation, hardly conscious distinction... But after all, it is the child's own world. It has the unity and completeness of his own life. (1958, p. 5–6)

Fleming refers to a common claim that the Arts enrich our understanding of the world but points out that 'understanding' can have several meanings. To understand how a mathematics problem can be solved is not equivalent to someone saying, "I am starting to understand you", that is rather the opposite (Fleming, 2012, p. 1). Whereas the first kind of understanding involves analysing, logic and finding an exhaustive explanation, the second dimension of understanding concerns "a holistic vision, making links with our own experience, seeing how things fit together" (Fleming, 2012, p. 1). The analytic aspect of understanding concerns getting to the bottom of something, while a synthesising understanding aims for a greater depth. But if the teaching in aesthetic subjects aims to provide only analytic understanding, then the teaching may "become narrow, expository and mechanical" (Fleming, 2012, p. 2). However, the two aspects of understanding are not mutually exclusive and are both important.

Viewing drama practice and my research from a holistic point of view means that I recognize a broad understanding of theory and practice in which logic elucidation is also needed.

Unfortunately, societal and educational approaches towards aesthetic subjects and art in compulsory school are not characterized by a holistic view. Rather a regime of truth towards arts in education can be exemplified by its place in the hierarchy of subjects, where drama is placed close to the bottom (Foucault, 1980; Robinson, 2011). Robinson claims that the same hierarchy is evident in almost all industrial societal systems: science, mathematics and languages are placed at the top, while the humanities subjects are at the bottom. There is even a hierarchy within the aesthetic subjects, where art and music often have higher status than drama (Robinson, 2011) and a recurrent discourse is that the arts are less useful than other subjects:

> Science is strongly associated with truth and objectivity, fact and hard reality and the arts with feelings, emotions and intuition. The arts are seen as disposable extras in education; something optional to do with self-expression, relaxation and leisure. (Robinson, 2011, p. 63)

Drawn from Robinson, there are reasons for these discourses: 1) Industrial, as public education originates from the Industrial Revolution; 2) economic, as some disciplines are assumed to pay a higher salary; and 3) cultural, where academicism is related to the idea of objectivism and truth. Rasmussen points out the function and exercise of power in language and notes that, in art, this is featured through mediums other than through speech and writing, which place them in a disadvantaged position (2011). Fleming exemplifies the situation for drama practitioners in primary school: due to the hierarchical discourse placing aesthetic subjects at the bottom in education, they “often feel vulnerable or tongue-tied” when asked to justify a lesson or project (Fleming, 2012, p. 8). Fleming refers to an incident when a 13-year-old boy interrupted the drama lesson by asking for an “intellectual justification” for the activity at hand (2012, p. 8). There can be different reasons for this pupil to react in this way, but the incident exemplifies Robinson’s description of the hierarchy of subjects (2011). Interrogating the regime of truth (Foucault, 1980) elucidates the many tensions that arise when school staff want to implement drama as a subject in primary school. These tensions can though be viewed as possibilities for development, if they can illuminate the importance of complexity, which is needed in a sustainable educational ecosystem and ecotonal diversity.

The significance of the notion of ecosystem is that it describes everything within it that is alive and interlinked with its environment (see Chapter 1). However, 'system' is a concept invented by man to comprehend a part of reality. In nature, there are no 'real' or 'closed' systems, but rather all ecosystems are open to the surrounding world which exchanges energy and matter (Reichholf, 2010). My aim is to acknowledge that, while Dalhem School is a cultural, social and educational system, at the same time, it has borders. These borders are lobate, as in, not straight but undulating; therefore, the borders are not easily separated from the surrounding fields. Ecologist Josef Reichholf points out that research in 'ecosystems' means that excisions are chosen by man and studied, but in reality, there are no visible demarcated ecosystems (2010). In the global debate on environmental issues, arguments for a balance in ecosystems are often proposed. However, Reichholf claims that the idea of equilibrium in nature is based on a static view of the world and that, on the contrary, disequilibrium is the driving force for evolution as well as economic and social development (2010). A primary school can be studied as a system, but it is nevertheless interlinked with the surrounding society. There is disequilibrium within not only the daily practice of a school, but also in relation to the surrounding society. When seen as opportunity for evolution, it can support school development.

The habitat of Schooling

Employing the notion of schooling, I refer to the traditional school organization and practice necessary in all compulsory school contexts, namely, the organizing of pupils in groups and the pupils learning to read and write, understand mathematics, collaborate with peers, raise their hand if they want to speak, listen to the teacher's instructions, and so on. To problematize this perspective, I draw on Biesta, who states that schooling is first and foremost, a socialization into the culture of school itself (2011). Schooling contains aspects of controlling pupils and sets expectations of obedient behaviour which fall in line with what Jackson discusses in his research on the hidden curriculum: "during that period that the young child comes to grips with the facts of institutional life" (1968, p. vii). Over two years, he carried out systematic observations, followed pupils and teachers in elementary school, stayed in the playground and talked to teachers in the staff room, describing "the daily grind" of schooling. The hidden curriculum

denotes all the things pupils learn about the institutional life as the teaching and learning in school subjects are simultaneously followed through. This means, for example, the importance of suppressing boredom and accepting "busywork" such as cleaning out one's desk, waiting for classmates to catch up, or accepting "all eyes front" although more interesting things may be going on outside the window than in the classroom (Jackson, 1968, p. 106).

The concept of schooling raises questions concerning whether education should primarily prioritize the reproduction of knowledge and to what extent creativity and explorative learning and meaning-making are supported in education. Dewey critiques a view of life that is compartmentalized and where the institutionalized compartments are classified as high and low, which often leads to a need to restrain the body and the oversight of feelings and senses (Dewey, 1934, p. 20). Schooling as utilized in my thesis serves to underscore aspects in primary school that are characterized by orthodox perceptions. It concerns perspectives on power, scientific knowledge, administrative techniques and institutions that have been developed to control and govern citizens' lives (Foucault, 1988). In this context, schooling creates tension in relation to the ecotone, meaning that drama builds on a view where exploration and experience are at the core of learning rather than conveying well-known knowledge. Further, the approach towards the body, time and space within drama practice does necessarily create tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone because pupils' agency, creativity and bodily expressions are encouraged in drama, and the approach to time and space is different than in schooling, which tends to disturb the traditional schooling practice.

As Dewey explains, an orthodox education often downgrades the body and the value of the senses (1934, 1980). Dixon notes that becoming a pupil involves training in order to function in a school environment and "much of this training is directed at the body" (Dixon, 2011, p. 2). Dixon points out that one of the most dominating abilities asked for as children are being 'schooled', is to listen (2011). In order to listen, which above all concerns listening to a teacher, the body is expected to be disciplined and still. Contrary to this, Davidson highlights that "the arts, by their very nature, value embodied knowledge to a greater degree than many of the traditional

disciplines found in schools" (In Bresler, 2004, p. 197). Drama practice features a range of corporal expressions and encourages a range of motor skills, but as Davidson points out, "classroom space was never designed for the activity" (p. 203), but drama practitioners are nevertheless mostly required to teach there. The marginalizing of drama practice and the drama teacher feeling that she "borrows the students" and the space risks creating a practice of physical control as the result of the fear of being seen as someone who disregards "the property" of other teachers (Davidson, in Bresler, 2004, p. 207). Further, even though the characteristics of drama are to encapsulate human relations and perspectives of the world through bodied interactions, Franks argues after analysing the theoretical field that:

> although there was mention of 'embodiment' and 'body language' in relation to learning in drama, little writing on drama education at that time focused on the material presence and co-presence of socially organised and enculturated bodies. Rather, there was a tendency to see right through the bodily presence of students to get at learning. The ghostliness of the body appeared to me as emblematic of the continued dominance of a dualistic view and hierarchical model of learning, one that separates mind from body. It is as if the making of meaning and processes of learning can be entirely abstracted from the social and individual bodies of students. (Franks, 2015, p. 312)

Franks elucidates that even though the body is at the core of drama practice, drama practitioners in the context of compulsory school, are faced with major challenges in order to create conditions to support pupils' learning and meaning-making through embodied experiences. In addition to the body, the approach to time and space is a key question in relation to aesthetic subjects and art in education, though it elucidates the difference in a holistic and a rationalistic epistemology. Foucault describes the methods by which disciplinary power is maintained in which space, time and teaching procedures are divided into supervised units (1987). Questions of how to prioritize time and restrictions of time are constantly an issue in schooling and were a recurrent topic of discussion from different perspectives in the project at Dalhem School. In western societies, the awareness of clock-time and punctuality are considered an individual responsibility, and pupils are expected to learn how to 'keep the time' (Dixon, 2011). In aesthetic practice, as the participants "surrender" to their creative work and its implicit rhythm (Dewey, 1934), clock-time and timetables often become a hindrance. In order to describe the perception of time related to

a rationalistic perspective, I use the term *chronos*, which reflects the traditional approach to time in the western world. The term originates from Greek mythology, and its etymology points to 'measurement' (Elmeroth et al., 2006)

In contrast, *kairos* describes a dimension of time different to clock time, which signifies an alternative experience. In Greek mythology, this meant 'qualitative time' or 'the right time' (Smith, 1986). Kairos was the God of prosperous moments containing not only the randomness of existence but also moments of free choice (Elmeroth et al., 2006). I employ the notion of kairos as a quality in play and aesthetic practice where the subject experiences the environment as a whole and approaches it as a whole being – intellectually, bodily and spiritually (Dewey, 1934). Kairos is sometimes experienced in creative processes where one becomes engulfed by the work, and chronos time seems to dissolve. It is pertinent in relation to Csikszentmihalyi's notion of flow, which describes engagement in an activity which is its own meaning and reward – an activity in which a person loses track of time (in Klein, 1990). Much like this idea, Knutsdotter Olofsson, in her research considers that "play is its own reward" (2003).

Chronos is the dominant perception and experience of time in schooling and denotes the palpable time which is measurable and controllable. A constantly present way of framing activities in a school context is the timetable. Even for young children, the school day is divided into segments, and from one moment to the next, the focus must shift and play is interrupted. Foucault describes the close connection between time, discipline and control through timetables (1977). The monastery heritage of recurrent rhythm during the day, partitioning of space and mandatory duties became the model for schools and other institutions. Later, the Industrial Revolution continued the tradition which was employed in public schools and is still present today (Foucault, 1977). Children's school day is separated in different subjects that have their stipulated time and the school organization depends on everyone following the timetable. (Foucault, 1980). Nicholson claims that power in the twenty-first century lies primarily with the control of time rather than control of space (2015). From a rationalistic perspective, efficiency and thereby not 'losing time', is important: "Time is, perhaps, one of the most valuable commodities of the

twenty-first century, and understanding questions of temporality have become pressing" (Nicholson, 2015, p. 135).

A holistic pedagogy allowing and acknowledging experiences, explorative learning, mistakes and detours therefore needs to relate to time in another way than within a rationalistic discourse. Dewey asserts that education aiming for pupils to make meaningful experiences demands that processes build on growth which can be "slow and arduous" (Dewey, 1938, p. 30). In her Foucauldian analysis of teaching in a primary school, Dixon describes the temporal elaboration of routines in order to control time, for example, being instructed to tidy up the toys or equipment they have been using, when to sit on their benches, and when to sit at the big carpet on the floor instead of the desks. She notes that constant surveillance is needed in order to maintain the timetable and describes the observed teachers' appreciation of efficiency:

> The better the children know the songs the greater their speed and efficiency in moving particular body parts in time with the words of the songs. […] Disruptions and inattentiveness halt. Children are unable to be inattentive when they focus on the words of the song and move their bodies in time with the words. (Dixon, 2011, p. 40)

Dewey argues for the importance of the possibility of having an experience that runs its course to fulfilment and not just letting a series of experiences pass through or devolve into constant disruption and fragmentation (Dewey, 1934). This is opposed by education, in which "the only measure of success is in competition, in the negative sense, by comparing of results in tests" (Dewey, 1980, p. 57 [my translation]) in which individualization and qualification are in focus. A fulfilled experience is closely related to aesthetic quality, and its enemies are not practical or intellectual but rather submission to convention, and rigidity (Dewey, 1934, p. 43). In schooling, the seeking to do things "in the shortest time" often causes resistance but is met as obstruction and dismissed instead of viewed as an invitation to reflection (Dewey, 1934, p. 46). Wiles highlights that time does not only exist in our minds but also affects us on every level:

> Time only exists when we measure and count it, and we can only count something that changes according to a regular measure. Counting is not done in the mind but through a living body, and bodies are only alive when they pulsate. (Wiles, 2014, p. 15)

Chronos time dominates our societies, including pupils in primary school, but aesthetic and artistic practices offer the possibility to have an experience through acknowledging qualitative kairos time. School staff who understand the processes and practise within the areas of drama ecotone and art need for schooling to be questioned. Further, the tensions arising at the borders need to be viewed as possibilities for school development and diversity in forms and content rather than disruptions. Teachers who are interested in collaborating with colleagues in cross-subject teaching can open up for the negotiating of timetables and diversity in forms of practice that can support school development.

Depending on what definition is taken of the schooling concept, one can say that it is a necessary organization – the structuring and socializing of compulsory school. It refers to Biesta's dimension of qualification, which focuses on preparing pupils for a future working life. However, this negates Dewey's argument that education should meet pupils' interests and social lives and that children do not live in the future but rather in the present. A culture *dominated* by schooling and chronos, will not support explorative and divergent learning in which pupils' experiences and meaning-making processes are allowed.

The habitat of ecotone

Ecotone as the centre of the metaphor involves the idea of drama holding an in-between position in the primary school ecosystem bordering on schooling and art. Given that drama is not a discrete subject in compulsory school in Sweden but described in the national curriculum as a practice that should be offered to all pupils, its position is unclear. The question of borders and how to approach them are analysed by Foucault, who claims that the preservation of distinctions between different scientific fields and genres prevents the *intrinsic* categorizations in the same fields. That is, if the intrinsic categorizations are visible, they can be interrogated and analysed, and questioning the categories can open up fruitful discussions and elucidate blind spots in a field (Foucault, 1972).

I suggest that the model Schooling–Ecotone–Art serves as a tool to elucidate the borders and tensions in order to interrogate and analyse drama in the primary school context, where there is an 'aesthetic habitus'. The ecotone concept acknowledges that there are borders between the school and society, within the school, between and inside subjects, and these borders create tensions. In these tensions, for example, regarding timetables, the use of space, didactics, power relations and pupils' creativity are approached as obstacles to be avoided or eliminated, the drama practice risks to be narrowed. On the other hand, if the tensions are illuminated and approached as possibilities for pedagogical exploration, this creates conditions for school development. Further, if pupils are permitted to move between different habitats and encounters and express themselves through a diversity of aesthetic forms, the internalized aspects of an aesthetic habitus can be illuminated and questioned.

Ecotones are non-cultivated areas often found near cultivated fields, and they exist in many types of landscapes (Hjort, 2003). I imagine the drama ecotone as a clearing or a glade bordering schooling, which I imagine as an arable land where certain seeds are sown and certain crops are expected to be harvested. The second area adjacent to the ecotone is art, which I imagine as a wildwood containing mighty trees, underground rhizomes and a variety of paths to explore. Tensions in the ecotone arise towards schooling, as drama practice is not part of the traditional school practice despite that it encourages contingency, divergent learning and creative processes. In relation to art, the tensions are less palpable, but as drama in the primary school context is referred to as pedagogy, it cannot freely follow artistic impulses. It is dependent on the curriculum, timetables and didactics, whereas art is not. The metaphor implies that there is a need to acknowledge the tensions that emerge at the edges of schooling, the ecotone, and art in order to recognize the possible edge-effects and diversity in learning and meaning-making. Different environments offer opportunities for different experiences. Movement between the areas of the ecotone, art, and schooling creates opportunities for the questioning of an aesthetic habitus. As Bourdieu points out, education is a symbolically structured environment and pupils' development is transmitted through practice:

> The child imitates not "models" but other people's actions. Body hexis[10] speaks directly to the motor function, in the form of a pattern of postures that is both individual and systematic, because linked to a whole system of techniques involving the body and tools, and charged with a host of social meanings and values. (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 87)

The arising tensions within the drama practice as moving from the schooling habitat to the ecotone require motions in mindset, senses, emotions as well as in actions and bodies, for pupils as well as for teachers and drama pedagogues. As teachers and pupils regularly interact in drama, negotiate power, and explore imagination and meaning-making, an experience of a widened aesthetic habitus can evolve. However, as stated by Hjort (2003), ecotones are increasingly rare, as "half a century back [they were] seen as unproductive areas and [have] been rationalized away" (p. 271, [my translation]). Ecotones are traditionally seen as useless because they are not cultivated and thereby not productive but are often positioned in-between larger cultivated areas. Ecotones are traditionally seen as useless because they are not cultivated and thereby not productive but are often positioned in-between larger cultivated areas, which are viewed as important (Hjort, 2003). This is supported by current research, which shows that the loss of a variety of habitats and its subsequent fragmentation is the leading cause of the decline in biodiversity (Horvath, Ptacnik & Csabaç, 2019). However, in recent years, as the extinction of plants and animals and the threat this poses to biodiversity is now seen as an essential problem, the awareness of the importance of ecotones has increased (Horvàth, Ptacnik & Csabaç, 2019). This points to an important perspective – that a narrow approach towards productivity and efficiency is counterproductive in the long run. Horvath et al. (2019) argue that ecotones' connections to the surrounding landscape are important in order to resist the diminishing of biodiversity and to prevent habitat loss.

Hjort argues that ecotones should be preserved because they create unique habitats where plants and insects have vital havens unlike habitats in cultivated areas. Ecotones create "windshields and retreats for sensitive species" (Hjort, 2003, p. 271), which relates to drama as it is traditionally described as 'a safe space' and 'penalty-free zone' (Johnson & O'Neill, 1984, p. 128) where participants can express themselves without feeling judged, and where they can share thoughts

[10] Hexis – state, condition, situation

and reflections in explorative ways. The ecotone as a safe space creates conditions for the sense of fellowship and socialization. The 'sensitive species' in drama refers not only to the participants and their interplay but also to the creative processes and forms of expressions which are often delicate and sensible. Cultivated areas tend to be rectilinear and have sharp edges but ecotones are commonly lobate which means that their borders are formed like an oak leaf: it moves in and out in the bordering habitat and opens up for interplay with the adjacent areas (Hjort, 2003). Drama in primary school is lobate in the sense that its practice can connect to any subject or theme in an educational context, whether it concerns a discrete subject like history or a social theme like friendship.

As described, ecotones are often smaller habitats surrounded by cultivated areas or else other, more dominating habitats. When investigating the diversity effects, that is, to what extent species influence and penetrate adjacent habitats, Lacasella et al. (2015) found that an ecotone should not be too small because it will lead to an asymmetrical response. This means that the dominating habitat will impact the ecotone to a large extent – the uniqueness of the ecotone will be destroyed, and the diversity-effect will be lessened. Therefore, in order to preserve diversity in ecosystems, reciprocal attention must be given to each habitat and its special content. Even though their size may differ, they should be considered equally important in order to maintain biodiversity in the ecosystem (Lacasella et al. 2015). This also means that the importance of drama in primary school does not necessarily require a large change in the school timetable, drama can be implemented as a subject, but also as a learning tool in other subjects. However, its presence and continuity are vital for diversity in the school ecosystem.

Pertinent to drama as an ecotone, Rasmussen suggests that drama should remain in this educational in-between position since it is not a pure art form or a school subject (2001). Attempts to identify drama often lead to a reduction in the potential of its media-specific content, but "interpreted as cultural-aesthetic practice, it is atypical of both art and pedagogy (Rasmussen, 2001, p. 51 [my translation]). Therefore, Rasmussen argues for leaving endless discussions about the categorical perspectives on reason/feeling, experience/knowledge, the social/the aesthetic

in favour of an inclusive perspective (2001). However, this in-between position causes resistance from the school system, as it is built on the distinction of subjects. From a power perspective and due to drama's intermittent position, its possibilities for recognition, status, space and resources are limited (2001). Drawn from Rasmussen, drama pedagogy currently fits badly with established patterns: "The map does not match the terrain. And it is the map that has authority" (2001, p. 9). Nevertheless, drama in education contributes to what Rasmussen describes as 'culture-production' (2001, p. 10). By defining drama as part of a culture–aesthetic practice, including drama as culture-production within a social context related to meaning-making, Rasmussen wants to widen the concept of culture in relation to drama as art. Drawn from Rasmussen, the culture–aesthetic perspective holds a complexity and offers possibilities for exploring the specific potential of drama. Hence, an epistemology of drama should not be forced to choose sides – either theatre or education. To resist choosing sides requires both the recognition of differences and a deconstruction of authoritarian perspectives on art *and* pedagogy (2001).

Drama as an ecotone aligns with Rasmussen's argument that the in-between position of drama can be viewed as an opportunity for the development of diversity and not as a gap needed to be eliminated (2001). In conclusion, ecotones are important to preserve, as they represent unique habitats and "windshields" and contribute to biodiversity (Hjort, 2003, p. 271). Drama as an ecotone in primary school represents a windshield where pupils have the agency to be creative and process important themes in meaning-making processes. However, if drama is 'cultivated' (Hjort, 2003) into schooling and subdued into a rationalistic discourse, it risks having its motivational force undermined in favour of non-qualitative, non-authentic or competitive drama or as the development of 'child stars' (Fleming, 2011).

The habitat of Art

The third habitat, which I refer to as art (Swedish: *konst*), is a knowledge field traditionally not used in Sweden when describing music, visual art, drama and dance in compulsory school. These practices are described as 'aesthetic subjects' or 'aesthetic forms of expression', which, in the Swedish context, suggests that their functions are primarily pedagogical and that *focus* is not on

artistic processes or productions. In this thesis, I refer to art and the artistic process as a space of practices in which teachers and pupils can prioritize artistic exploration and production, which is not limited to the curriculum or time-tables but rather focuses on pupils' subjectification processes and to agency in artistic work. In my metaphorical model, the art-habitat underscores the content of subjectification and identity concerning the process of becoming a subject in which one's uniqueness is realized in encounters with others' 'otherness' (Biesta, 2011).

Dewey suggests that art emanates from and constitutes having an experience and that children's way of learning is 'to do' (1938, p. 19); further, "in the same moment children are acting they become individuals" (1980, p. 67) or using the terminology of Foucault and Biesta, they become subjects. The signification of expressions of art includes an action and its object. The action of an artistic expression in a dramatic scene and the objective result, which is what the audience or classmates see, are organically connected with each other. Only when they are separated is the expression itself, the object, valued, and the subjectification process is denied (Dewey, 1934). The individual contribution which makes the specific expression unique is ignored and vice versa if the action is given prominence over the art expression, as its object is diminished to the discharging of personal emotions. By viewing the artistic expression as a personal action and its objective result as interrelated, the subjectification process is acknowledged as well as the uniqueness of the artistic expression (Dewey, 1934).

The division of the artistic act and its expression is an important element in the elitist perspective of art which Dewey critiques. The placement of some artists and art products on remote pedestals has contributed to a disconnect between art and people's lives and the community. The important thing, according to Dewey, is not to formulate criteria for qualitative art or how the appreciation of it can be cultivated but rather how aesthetics and art can, by relating to life, create an understanding of this life (Dewey, 1934). Dewey claims that art emerges out of experiences in life that happen in an environment, because of it and through interaction with it, and aesthetics denote the perceptions of an experience (1934). To this backdrop and in a compulsory school context, the art-habitat points to the question of pupils' agency as well as the possibility to

develop their ideas and to choose the content and forms of their work. Dewey argues that the orthodox schooling is "one of imposition from above and from outside" (1938, p. 18) in which adult subject matter, methods, and standards are forced upon pupils. There is an extensive gap between adults and their understanding of children's and youngsters' experiences, which prohibits their active participation in school practice. Consequently, contents and methods must be imposed "even though good teachers will use devices of art to cover up the imposition so as to relieve it of obviously brutal features (Dewey, 1938, p. 19). This implies that in order to truly acknowledge pupils' aesthetic experiences and support conditions for them to express themselves artistically, they must be allowed active participation and agency. In this way, the conditions for subjectification will also be created (Biesta, 2006).

Despite the many reasons listed in literature and in practice for the importance of the arts in school: to improve performance in other subjects, to develop imagination and creativity, to improve personal qualities and so on, it will always be possible to identify missing items (Bamford, 2006; DICE, 2010; Fleming, 2012). Fleming points to the problems that occur when traditional arguments are scrutinized; for example, "improving performance in other subjects" (2012, p. 11) not only diminishes art but also tends to suggest that art is only useful when improving cognitive skills, which supports the dualistic view of learning and art. The long list of arguments for art in education does not apply equally to different art forms, and according to Fleming, it can "feel more like an exercise in rhetoric than theoretical inquiry, induced more by political necessity that intellectual challenge and without any concrete application to pedagogy" (2012, p. 13).

The art as habitat highlights that form and content are inseparable and that imagination is vital for intellectual development (Dewey, 1934, 1958; Eisner, 2002). Further, the capacity of art lies in compositions and its relationships and that its meaning-making processes (see further 2.5) cannot be reduced to formulas, recipes or rules (Eisner, 2002). The area of art stresses that meaning-making encompasses a wider perspective than learning and critiques the learnification discourse as it narrows epistemology (Biesta, 2011). The border of ecotone and art illuminates convergent and divergent practices (Lindström, 2012), interpreted in this thesis as where the

former needs to relate to the curriculum and syllabus, and the latter is driven by explorative and contingent processes which are not limited by specific learning outcomes, and in which there is more than one answer to questions and more than one solution to a problem. It displays the tension at the border of the ecotone and art, describing the intrinsic dilemma in drama pedagogy, as it has both pedagogical as well as artistic aims.

Creative agency

In the following section, I give two examples that highlight the conditions and opportunities for pupils' creative agency and active participation in art work in the compulsory school context. The aim is to illustrate the tensions, obstacles and opportunities for this in the frame of primary school.

The first example, *Skapande skola* (Creative School) is from Sweden and describes the failure of supporting pupils' participation and agency in art projects despite the official aim of doing so. It is relevant to the project at Dalhem School, as it was granted supplemental funding from Skapande skola in the second semester of the drama project in order to make it possible for the two drama pedagogues to continue working on a weekly basis at the school. The other example originates from Scotland, and it shows that it is possible to acknowledge and support pupils' agency, ability to take responsibility, and serious artistic work in the compulsory school context.

For children and youngsters to explore art in terms of theatre in Sweden, they most often need to engage in practices outside of school. Concerning theatre in leisure time, children and youngsters have recently gained increased possibilities to participate. In many municipalities, a long tradition of 'music school' outside the school organization has expanded to 'culture schools', in which theatre is now one of the largest subjects (Österlind, Østern & Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). In her study of relations between art and school collaborations on policy, organizational and individual levels, Cedervall (2020) concludes that, from the last 40 years of school curricula in Sweden, no clear willingness was found on the school policy level to involve professional artists in collaboration. However, compulsory schools do have the possibility to incorporate drama and

theatre by the so-called schools' choice, which means that a school can choose an aesthetic profile and offer the pupils the opportunity for artistic work within the timetable. However, this puts high demands on a school, its leadership and school staff, and therefore, is uncommon. The school's choice was an aim at Dalhem School during the time of the project, by which the intention was to formally announce the school as having an aesthetic profile. However, at the end of the drama project, this intention was relinquished.

Another way for schools to engage in art projects has been implemented by the organization *Skapande Skola* (Creative School), which is facilitated by the Swedish Council for Culture. In 2008, the political administration in Sweden initiated the organization, which is still running. It involves a yearly sum of money in order for compulsory schools, in collaboration with professional artists, to apply for a "long-term integration of cultural and artistic expressions in preschool and compulsory school" and to "increase professional cultural activities *for and with the pupils*" (The Council for Culture Analysis, CCA, 2013, p. 10 [my italics]).[11] The organization started out small, but by 2013, Creative School was so well developed that schools could apply for grants every year for pupils at all levels (6–15 years). That same year, a research team wrote a report (CCA, 2013) in which they evaluated the Creative School and its implementation so far. The writers of the report chose to refer to international evaluations that focus on the lack of evidence-based research about whether art and aesthetic subjects contribute to pupils' learning in other subjects. Further, there is no discussion of the definition of the different labels, what it encompasses in a school context, or the relation between the projects within Skapande skola and the mandatory subjects of visual art and music.

The perspective of the Arts as an opportunity for pupils' agency, for creativity, and to process important themes is met with silence in the report. The writers point out successful examples from different schools where artists, teachers and pupils worked with art projects, but the predominant topics in the report concern organization, economy, professional artists' work

[11] Myndigheten för kulturanalys. The Council for Culture Analysis (CCA)
https://kulturanalys.se/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Skapande-skola-En-första-utvärdering.pdf

situation, and whether the projects in Skapande skola supports pupils' grades. Cedervall's study (2020) suggests that theatres should collaborate with schools because of their ruling policy and aim of reaching all children. The original formulation of aims for Skapande skola stipulated that pupils *should be involved* in the *preparation and evaluation* of the projects and action plans. However, the research group concluded in the report that there is a considerable need for improvement when it comes to pupils' possibility to be actively involved in the projects:

> School leaders and teachers show a lack of confidence in the value of the pupils' participation: it would render the process *ineffective,* and the pupils' contribution to the content and implementation of the projects is perceived by the adults as limited. (CCA, 2013, p. 84 [My translation. My italics])

According to the Council for Culture, the formulations of the aims in the official documents for Skapande skola were changed "to fit reality" (p. 86), and the current formulations read, "Pupils *should be given the opportunity* to participate in the work of planning, implementing and following up the efforts" (CCA, 2013, p. 86). The initial aim that pupils *should* be involved in the implementation of art projects at their school was downgraded, and the possibility for pupils to affect the art projects at their school was thus weakened, which was underscored by the pupils who were interviewed in the report. Cedervall's study does not analyse the pupils' perspective, but the results show that tensions were found regarding organization and framing factors, culture, mission and roles, learning through partnership, and successful partnership (Cedervall, 2020).

Room 13

The second example of pupils' possibility to explore art work in the compulsory school context was initiated in Scotland and has spread internationally. Room 13 started in Caol, Scotland, in 1994 by pupils who became involved in creating an art studio in an empty classroom space at a compulsory school. The project eventually included pupils organizing a management team, a bank account, and engaging an artist-in-residence to oversee the studio as well as assisting pupils with their art projects (Groce, 2014). Even though it concerns contemporary art and not drama in particular, it is relevant as it "challenges institutional orthodoxies by developing new

methodologies that insists on the validity of contemporary artist-teacher/learner production" (Adams, 2005, p. 23). Grube, who studied Room 13 in Scotland, gives this description:

> Rob Fairly worked as artist-in-residence at Caol Primary School, and at years end the children asked him to stay on. Rob told me his reply: "Yes, if you pay me". The children found the necessary resources and have since continued to fundraise, to write grants, and to receive donations to support the art room. (Grube, 2012)

Contemporary art is seen in a wide perspective in the Room 13 practice and includes performance, installations, and digital animation art supported by seminars on theory and philosophy, and there are currently Room 13 studios across the world (Groce, 2014). Grube describes in her observations how the children were able to "roam, cluster, stretch, hover, crane, and collapse – in short to use their bodies" because the studio did not have assigned seats and just a few tables, and an elasticity of the room offered a complexity of movement. As described by Grube, the children's freedom of choice created an energy in which the body and mind could not be separated (2012). Practice in Room 13 is voluntary, and the children participate either during the school day in agreement with teachers during lunch or after school. Groce tells how students are permitted to make their own choices, and a premise of Room 13 is to "encourage children to create and perform those things that have personal meaning to them" (2014, p. 441).

Adams (2005) underscores the importance of how members and their collaborative work are viewed. By approaching pupils as artist-learners and teachers as artist-teachers as well as by inviting artists-in-residence and encouraging teachers to explore their own artistic practice, orthodox assumptions of art practice within the school context are problematized. It opens the doors for a pedagogy not restricted by didactics but instead supported by collaborative production (Adams, 2005). Roberts (2008) asserts the real-world relevance in the practice of Room 13, referring to statements of the students like, for example, 11-year-old Connor Gillies, who said, "I think the most important thing for me is that in Room 13 everything is real" (Roberts, 2008, p. 21). Even though the children consider input from artists and consultants, it is ultimately they who make the decisions. As stated by Adams, the collaboration between artist-learners, artist-teachers and artists-in-residence has not hindered the participants in their autonomous art

work in the Room 13 practice (2005). On the contrary, a cornerstone of Room 13 is jointly debated work and knowledge, through which power relationships are restructured and thus contribute to the questioning of the traditional hierarchical model (Adams, 2005).

The example of Skapande skola from Sweden illustrates the challenges of collaboration between schools and artists. It points to the power of schooling and what Biesta describes as being foremost "a socialization into the culture of school itself" (2004, p. 17), which implies that pupils are expected to accept being subordinated to adults' decisions, even when the official aim is to support the pupils' creativity. The report further shows that pupils' agency in art fits badly with established patterns, or what Rasmussen describes as "the map that does not match the terrain", and "it is the map that has authority" (Rasmussen, 2001, p. 9). On the other hand, Room 13 describes pupils' motivation and skills and that it is possible even for compulsory schools to support pupils' agency, ability to create art, and need to take responsibility for their work. Artistry and performances were not areas of focus in the school project at Dalhem School, even though it concerned the implementation of drama in the teaching, but nevertheless, these examples illustrate the many layers possible to explore and investigate in relation to the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art in the compulsory school context.

2.5 Conceptual framework

I have elaborated the implications of the metaphor's ecosystem and Schooling–Ecotone–Art, and in the following, I relate the model to the theoretical perspectives and concepts within drama pedagogy utilized in this thesis. The sections begin with an account of the relevant terminology.

Drama theory and theoretical concepts in drama

All fields of knowledge need a specific terminology, and drama pedagogy is no exception. Practitioners of this field have struggled to negotiate a functional terminology that can be agreed by all the parties involved in drama education society. As indicated by Owens and Barber (2006), drama practitioners, students and pupils need a common language in order to have a reasonable

dialogue. Depending on what perspective one choses, drama terminology can be described as rich and diverse or confused and insecure (2006). A specific vocabulary can also exclude people who are not familiar with drama, and that would be counterproductive to what drama is about. On one hand, the negotiating of drama terminology must go on, and the concepts and terms that are functional will remain. Every drama practitioner must deal with this in the dialogue with institutions, co-workers and participants. On the other hand, drama theories and terminology will develop in relation to growing research and practice.

A practice and theory within drama pedagogy, denoted *process drama* was introduced and explored by the two drama pedagogues in the project at Dalhem School, which is why the term is recurrently used in the thesis. However, the thesis does not aim to explore the specifics of process drama and they will therefore only briefly be accounted for here. Derived from O'Neill (1995), process drama is often synonymous with drama in education, but the term and practice are not established among teachers in Sweden (Österlind, Hallgren, 2014) even though the field is growing in relation to Swedish research (Hallgren, 2018). Process drama was employed in the school project because the drama pedagogues were interested in learning more about it, and it presents a well thought-through idea of how to practice drama in primary school (O'Neill, 1995). Process drama can be applied in various ways, but one of its characteristics is that participants are invited to a narrative, a passage of events, which is explorative and can take place during one lesson or several weeks.

Process drama includes the concept of pre-text (O'Neill, 1995), which refers to the source or impulse for the drama process. According to O'Neill, pre-text "defines the nature and limits of the dramatic world and implies roles for the participants (…) it switches on expectation, and binds the group together in anticipation" (O'Neill, 1995, p. 20). In the project stories, fairy tales and pre-text plans from literature were used. In process drama, the aesthetic form as well as the content is taken into account, and it aims for pupils' understanding and insight. Participants are expected to actively influence the content as well as the direction the narrative takes, and a typical convention used is 'teacher-in-role' which was explored and utilized in the school project.

Teacher-in-role involves the teacher taking on different roles to stimulate pupils' learning and understanding of the processed theme (O'Neill, 1995).

A term often used and when initiating drama work in process drama is, *drama contract*, which means when a group and a leader agree on common rules for the joint work, which can be for one lesson or for a whole semester (Owens & Barber, 2006). The aim for the drama contract is a trusting openness in the collaborative work. Neelands describes the learning contract for drama as the establishment of a partnership between the teacher and the group. It further involves the idea that drama makes its own kinds of demands on *both* teachers and pupils and that if any of those demands are avoided, the drama will lose its effect (Neelands, 1984, p. 27 [original italics]). The drama contract supports dialogue between pupils and leaders by creating conditions to reflect on what actually happens in the classroom and a frame to refer to if problems arise (Neelands, 1984). 'The drama contract' was introduced in the project at Dalhem School and became a useful tool for not only the teachers but also the pupils who adopted it and used it even outside the drama room. Further, the term *role protection* describes how a leader supports the participants who find the drama work uncomfortable or challenging. Neelands points to the human need to feel respected and confident in order to progress. Therefore, a leader needs to focus on the participants' strengths and utilize gentle probing rather than critique that risks creating an atmosphere of competition. Further, the participants' contributions to the jointwork must be protected from mocking and ironic comments (Neelands, 2006). By choosing appropriate contents and forms for the work and through dialogue and negotiation, the leader makes sure that participants feel protected in the drama practice (Owens & Barber, 2006).

With reference to the teaching of drama in compulsory school, Fleming states that the historical division of drama and theatre has become less of a divide (2001). Whereas earlier, drama often focused mainly on personal growth and process over product, progression in the field has increased the recognition of drama as art, form, and structure in the practice. Further, the importance of *reflection* and *responding*, and the need for knowing how to recognize progression and quality in drama has developed (Fleming, 2001; O'Neill, 1995). If theatre previously was

teacher-centred and product-oriented, an awareness of choice of content and a flexible concept of 'acting' and rehearsal has developed (Fleming, 2012). Fleming underscores the need for progression in the school context, otherwise drama can easily be viewed as solely a practical activity without rationale and formulated objectives. An area in need of development is how to view the *fictive dimension* as a key element of drama – and that its quality does not depend on coming as close as possible to reality in its expressions. Rather, in order to achieve progress in drama education, pupils need to learn *non-naturalistic techniques*. According to Fleming, the intrinsic strength of drama is that it provides inner motivation emanating from the human need for play, in which imagination and ideas can be explored. By involving the whole person, the 'living through' experiences in drama create specific qualities in learning processes (Fleming, 2001).

Drama as a culture aesthetic practice

In a broader perspective, Rasmussen exemplifies two attitudes concerning drama, where one expresses that "We are teaching, we don't have time for play and nonsense" and the other expresses that "We are engaged in art, we don't deal with pedagogy" (2001, p. 10 [my translation]). In order to address these attitudes, Rasmussen wants to deconstruct the western dichotomies which imply that accounts must be made in relation to art or pedagogy, practice or theory, process or product, form or content. It is possible to argue that drama is situated 'in-between', but such a position does not have any power in western culture and is met as a marginalized field which has not found its place. If authoritarian views in theatre or pedagogy are permitted to dominate, whereby the focus is mainly on psychological, sociological or theatrical perspectives, the aesthetic elements in drama practice are likely to be disregarded (Rasmussen, 2001). In order to meet these views, Rasmussen suggests widening the terminology, strengthening the 'in-between' position, and developing the aesthetic, epistemological and theoretical dimensions. Further, by the diminishing dominance of the literary theatre and development of performance and multimodal forms of expression, the position of drama pedagogy is changing. Rasmussen argues for seeing drama as a culture–aesthetic practice, in which its fullness can be included and its media-specific feature recognized (2001).

Rasmussen further employs the concept of perspectivating to investigate how meaning is created in drama. As the researcher, the artist knows that reality and truth are constructed and can be understood and presented in a variety of ways. Perspectivating in relation to drama underscores the significance of encounters between different perspectives, in which the sensuous and the reflective and the shifting between closeness and distance have a basic function. As we free ourselves from our own subjective perspective, we discover new possible perspectives (2001). Against this backdrop, Rasmussen questions the traditional understanding of mimesis as the relation between art and nature, in which mimesis stand for imitation.

An orthodox understanding of mimesis solely as imitation gives power to the original, but the art work is viewed as a lesser copy due to the idea of imagination and creativity as marginalized practices. Mimesis understood as representation acknowledges a process in which the subject expresses hers or his understanding of a phenomenon through aesthetic expression (Rasmussen, 2001). Bolton explains that imitation is irrelevant when children play; instead, what is expressed is the child's understanding of reality (Bolton, 1998). A developed understanding of mimesis isto view representation in a widened perspective in which the fiction is seen as action. This falls in line with the thought that by the creative act, one can transform reality. Rasmussen argues for a view of mimesis in which the representation represents only itself, which means that it does not have to represent any stable circumstances outside itself. The form and content of the aesthetic work are then seen as framed and are something different from what is outside the frame. In this way, mimesis can be interpreted as meaning-making (Rasmussen, 2001).

Meaning-making

I refer to the perspectivating process described by Rasmussen as meaning-making, which is the focus of the research question: "What kind of meaning-making evolves when pupils are allowed to express themselves in and through drama?" I employ the concept of 'meaning-making' in order to illuminate aspects in education related to drama pedagogy which risk being overlooked in reference to what Biesta describes as the learnification discourse (2001). Fleming suggests history describes theatre and play in the form of dramatic enactment as a source of recreation and

a means of making sense of the world (2011). Play relates to meaning-making, as children's natural way of exploring and making meaning of the world is through sensuous play (Slade, 1995; Dewey, 1980; Øksnes, 2011). Here, 'meaning' is not concerned with the content in a dramatic text or a process drama but rather the motivating process intrinsic in play and drama as well as the participants' need to explore and make sense of their experiences (Bolton, 1979; Fleming, 2011; Rasmussen, 2001; Slade, 1995; Øksnes, 2011). The "motivational force" in play and drama (Fleming, 2011, p. 33) and the human need to seek and create meaning (Selander & Kress, 2010) propose the need to address this notion in relation to art.

According to Rasmussen, drama practice involves complex processes which give meaning in certain contexts – the social, cultural and historical situation in which it is situated (2001). Meaning is created in the specific relation between form and content and derives from the impulses and the material which is processed in its own setting, and this includes participants' experiences and knowledge, both aesthetically and socially (Rasmussen, 2001). This diverges from the traditional view of cultural practice and an economic approach in the sense that the work is primarily seen as a meaning-making process for the participants themselves and not necessarily for an outside party. Rasmussen explains meaning or meaning-making not as meaningfulness or a way of knowing but rather as the media-specific experience of drama and as part of a progression involving conceptualized and theoretical knowledge about this experience (2001).

Exploring meaning-making is relevant in relation to Biesta's claim that an increased use of 'learning' instead of 'education' narrows the epistemology and marks a change in the pedagogical discourse. In Biesta's analysis, learnification prioritizes the qualification dimension at the expense of socialization and subjectification, which includes a focus on measurement and grading rather than a holistic view of education (2011). Meaning-making complements learning through taking pupils' social lives, creativity, and active engagement into account and aims to integrate the dimensions of socialization and subjectification at the same level as qualification (Dewey, 1938, 1980). Meaning-making as a concept relates to the social semiotic idea that humans make signs that are motivated by the desire to create meaning (Selander & Kress, 2010, p. 10). This reflects

a human need to process impressions and experiences, and as put by Eisner, "What we see is not simply a function of what we take from the world, but what we make of it" (2002, p. xii). Indeed, cultural framing affects education; however, Selander & Kress claim that meaning-making is a general semiotic principal common to all humans (2010).

Meaning-*making* further indicates agency, as the subject's own active participation and experience is seen as a crucial part of progression and development. In drama practice, agency includes pupils *making* their own meaning in and through the creative process. Agency has similarities to the Swedish word *agera*, which means 'acting' or 'to act'.[12] In this thesis, the term 'agency' is employed to describe pupils' possibilities to negotiate power, to affect the drama practice they are involved in, and to what degree their ideas and viewpoints are taken in account. Several writers emphasise that the important development of pupils' agency takes place *within the fictio*n, where pupils in-role can partly take initiative and make decisions and partly question authority, like, for example, the teacher-in-role (Aitken, 2009; Hallgren, 2018; Nelson, Colby & McIlrath, 2001). Freire takes this one step further and states that teaching cannot be neutral – it is either a tool for empowerment or for docility (1972). However, empowerment here is not possible to determine or an end goal that is finally achievable but rather a continuous process (Freire, 1972, p. 54). Freire stresses the importance of dialogue in education aiming for empowerment, but words in a dialogue contain two dimensions, reflection and action. According to Freire, a dialogue must always contain these two dimensions, as "there is no true word which is not at the same time praxis" (1972, p. 89, my translation).[13]

While Freire discusses empowerment foremost in relation to oppression, Foucault sees power as 'capillary' (1980, p. 201), productive and present in all interactions (1980). In a Swedish drama context, focusing on dialogue risks putting too much focus on consensus, while adopting a Foucauldian perspective encourages the acknowledgment of tensions as part of the developing process. Studies have shown that pupils' ability to develop agency is a creative process closely

[12] The Swedish word for meaning-making is *menings-skapande*, of which, the second part (*skapande*) is the same as 'create' in English. Meaning-making (*menings-skapande*) for me, therefore, relates to the active comprehending process where the learner's agency, body, mind and soul are involved in a developmental process. The Swedish word for 'agency' is *agens*.
[13] Freire defines praxis as: action & reflection: word=work=praxis

related to the tension and problem-solving in the fictive dimension, in which the drama practitioner is prepared to take a step back (Aitken, Fraser & Price, 2007; Hallgren, 2018). Rasmussen suggests that perspectivating can serve as a tool to analyse power. He exemplifies his idea as similar to when one can look back upon history and label an epoch. The twentieth century could be labelled 'the century of technique', but it could also be labelled 'the century of woman', depending on what perspective is chosen. In this way, it serves as a power strategy (Rasmussen, 2001). In a postmodern time where deconstruction of truth impels us to manage a diversity of truths, our relation to fiction is changing, and when everyday life becomes increasingly unstable, fiction becomes an important tool to process the different perspectives (Rasmussen, 2001).

Rasmussen points out that the critique of authority by young people today is an important part of the changes in culture production through new technology. Social media and YouTube have given young people agency and the ability to circumvent channels controlled by adults. This does not only concern technical skills and innovation but also the ability to achieve cultural competence (Rasmussen, 2001). This course of events brings to the fore questions of perspectivating and meaning-making in drama practice, which relates to the tensions evolving at the border of schooling and the ecotone. Rasmussen argues that even if interaction and dialogue are viewed as the 'normal' praxis in drama, the orthodox conveying of content in the name of pedagogy is often part of the practice. Further, interaction and dialogue are not free from power strategies; it takes awareness and skill for a drama practitioner to avoid assumptions and create conditions for original encounters (Rasmussen, 2001) and for the subject's differentness to meet another subject's differentness (Biesta, 2006).

Employing a holistic epistemology and the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art elucidates that meaning-making is a broader concept than learning. It is a vital part of education which critiques the learnification discourse and highlights the human need and motivation to aesthetically process experiences in order to make meaning out of them. The model critiques the hierarchy in education in which aesthetics and art are solely imitations and thereby marginalized, and by

perspectivating in the different areas, the model claims that the ecotone and art are just as important as schooling.

Learning in and learning through drama

An area of focus in this thesis is "what kind of learning processes can be identified in the drama practice?" Here, I deliberately use the formulation of learning processes, although this study does not claim to identify or measure specific learning outcomes. Even though the principal and the teachers at Dalhem School viewed drama and other aesthetic practices in a broad sense and not just as a tool for learning in other subjects, there were expectations that drama could support learning in Swedish. However, the drama team approached the Swedish teaching through drama from a functional perspective, that is, not focusing technical skills in writing and reading, but instead regarding language as communication and imbedded in context (Dewey, 1960; Malmgren, 1996). The Swedish teaching in reference to the project was practiced within process dramas and not by formalized exercises. This points to the question of 'learning in' drama and 'learning through' drama, which is a recurrent discussion within the field (Fleming, 2012). Putting it in a simplified way, 'learning in' drama refers to learning within the discipline itself, in this case, drama. Whereas 'learning through' focuses on the subject matter of the work, in which drama is the learning medium (Fleming, 2012).

A lack of awareness of these distinctions may lead to unsatisfactory practice but is not, as Fleming explains, "just a matter of curriculum organisation but may also extend to how aims are defined within the art subject itself" (2012, p. 68). Learning through drama has the potential to challenge teachers and their teaching, and learning in drama resists an implicit tendency to "dissolve the concept of art into creativity and culture" (Fleming, 2012, p. 77). According to Fleming, there is a risk that learning in is associated with art for art's sake, in the sense of formalism and aestheticism, or what Dewey describes as an elitist view towards art (1934) which naturally will face resistance in a compulsory school perspective, as drama is expected to support learning (Fleming, 2012, p. 72). However, seeing drama as an art form in an educational context is

essential, in order to reject a rationalistic view in which aesthetic subjects are seen only as tools for cost-benefits in education (Fleming, 2012).

A basic approach to learning through drama, like processing a certain historical event, for example, can be to divide the pupils into groups and ask them to make up a play on the subject. This will probably result in scenes involving superficial playing unless the pupils are very experienced and skilled in drama. Further, it is probable that the pupils will enact what they already know about the historical event and not develop their knowledge about the topic (Fleming, 2012). The approach of learning in drama still processes a historical event but may also explore conventions like teacher-in-role, mantle of expert, hot seating, still-images and eavesdropping. This work will create conditions for pupils to develop their understanding of and ability in drama. Further, it is likely that they will reach a deeper understanding of the historical event and its context. The intrinsic strength of drama is that it provides inner motivation emanating from the human need for play. By involving the whole person, the 'living through' experiences in drama create specific qualities in learning processes (Fleming, 2011). However, it is difficult to draw a line where learning in ends and learning through starts. Fleming proposes that, while being aware of the two concepts, the major benefit is "when the concepts become less distinct and start to merge". This is when the greater interest and insight is found (Fleming, 2012, p. 68).

Rasmussen notes that exploring alternative perspectives helps us to become aware of and revise our own views as well as discover new ones, but it is through the perspectivating practice – *how* we do it and not the perspectives themselves – that he claims can serve as knowledge-production. Perspectivating offers the possibility for keeping well-known references in mind but simultaneously questions these conventional perceptions (Rasmussen, 2001). In the context of education, the perspectives of learning in and learning through drama are situated in an aesthetic praxis which is part of a culture production containing collective and social functions. A complementary perspective to learning in and learning through is presented by Lindström (2012). He discusses perspectives in aesthetic learning in terms of different goals (2012). What he

denotes as convergent learning is goal-directed, focused and rational, while divergent learning is explorative, open-ended and intuitive. The strategy in convergent learning is to achieve something that is given in advance, for example, to master basic skills and the media-specific vocabulary. A convergent learning process aims for clarity and leans towards cause-and-effect strategies. The practice is divergent if the goal, rather, is investigative, seeking to be open forthe unexpected and integrate what the learner already knows for different purposes, which is more strongly associated with creativity (Lindström, 2012). The point of these aspects is that it can help drama practitioners to reflect on their practice and structure their teaching in a conscious way.

Other aspects in drama pedagogy are what Fleming refers to as 'making' and 'responding'. By referring to Bolton (1998), Fleming describes 'making' as an umbrella term including dramatic play, living through drama, and devising and illuminating the equilibrium between, on one hand, facilitating living through drama and such, and on the other hand, clear, structured and prescriptive teaching (Fleming, 2001). Responding involves aspects of how to receive performances, in which a prescriptive approach risks reducing it to a systematic procedure by using lists of questions focusing on cognitive and analytic reactions. Structured responses offer possibilities for informed teaching and progressive learning for pupils in drama, whereas genuine engagement and spontaneous reactions create a sense of comprehension and motivation to learn even more (Fleming, 2001). In my experience, structured response in drama, anchored in theatre semiotics is unusual in the compulsory school context in Sweden (Elsner, 2002; Lindgren 2006). However, dialogues labelled 'reflection' are part of the practice and focus on the participants' feelings, impressions, thoughts and questions, and it also concerns the content and themes processed. Drawn from Sternudd, there is an awareness by drama practitioners of the significance of moving between closeness and distance. Participants are made aware of the distance between the role and the self, the fictive and real world (2000). The reflective dialogues are mostly verbal, as participants process the collective and individual experiences (Sternudd, 2000). However, to engage younger pupils in conversations and reflections before and after drama practice is often challenging, which frequently leads to it being overlooked.

In her school study, Berggraf Sæbø investigated the didactic challenge for teachers who aim to teach drama in compulsory school (2009). She concludes that drama engages pupils and that when the teaching is done by teachers with drama competence, based in social constructivism and is well structured, learning outcomes are evident, 'in drama' as well as 'through drama'. However, if teachers with insufficient competence allow some pupils to dominate the lesson, the learning process becomes negative (2009). Further, she suggests that drama seems to challenge pupils with special needs. She does not specify their difficulties, but notes that they were reserved in the initial phase of the project and placed themselves 'outside' the drama practice. However, as the project proceeded, several of them became the most committed participants to the work. Berggraf Sæbø points out, that having enough time to develop a qualitative drama practice is also crucial to avoid lessons ending up in chaos (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009).

Progression in drama practice

Fleming states that intentional cumulative teaching in drama traditionally has not been apparent. Drama practice may offer one rich experience after another, but the knowledge of how to build on previous experiences has been low (2001). Drawing on Berggraf Sæbø, there is an extensive inertness when it comes to the development of drama teaching in compulsory school, which is often carried out in a reproducing way. Further, if the assignments in the drama teaching do not correlate with the pupils' knowledge and skill in drama it will lower the pupils' interest and engagement in the practice (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009). The question of progression illustrates that prior knowledge, skill and understanding should be approached. Further, the awareness of progression in drama practice is important because pupils need opportunities to have a sense of direction and to experience achievements (Fleming, 2001).

Fleming considers that the question of *teaching* drama is actualized, as it could be argued that the proof of the drama is in the teaching. The reluctance among practitioners to describe their practice as 'teaching drama' in favour of facilitating it, for example, has hampered analyses of progression according to Fleming (2011). According to Berggraf Sæbø, when reproducing roleplay

is combined with a teacher who stands back and assigns the responsibility to the pupils, there is a high risk of 'negative knowledge production' building on stereotypes in relation to the content processed but also to the view of drama and theatre (2009). Hence, a challenge in teaching drama is to find an informed balance between the development of external structures and supporting the quality of the participants' experiences. Progression in drama raises questions of assessment, but in this study, this is not taken into account because drama is not a subject in the Swedish curriculum and pupils in Grades One to Four are not given grades. However, aspects of how to facilitate and teach drama became a key question in my study and as the project proceeded, I became increasingly interested in how to view progression given that the project continued for one year. Fleming suggests two perspectives on progression in which a 'descriptive' view describes a natural development. This view is exemplified by pioneers like Slade (1995) and Way (1978) who saw drama foremost as a creative and expressive practice, based in play. They argued that young children should not be engaged in performances with reference to the natural development within drama practice. The second perspective is 'prescriptive', that is, how drama is developing as a result of being taught. The latter risks leading to simplification and reduction of the subject, especially if assessment is required. However, adopting solely a 'descriptive' perspective, endangers progression in the first place, though the concept of natural development is elusive and volatile and individual's development can differ to a high degree. Fleming states that the two distinctions are useful to have in mind, and that they also overlap (Fleming, 2001).

Carnival play as part of progression

As discussed in 2.5, I conclude that carnival play is a phenomenon important to take into consideration when implementing drama in the practice in primary school.

Dramatic play is described by drama theorists as an important aspect of drama practice (Bolton, 1992, O'Neill, 1995, Fleming, 2011). Fleming describes dramatic play as a precursor to drama, and its strength is its availability and propensity for pupils to engage in. The characteristics of dramatic play are that there is little in terms of pre-planned structure, and pupils have a limited sense of the consequences of their actions. There is often engagement and absorption, but not any sense

of dramatic form. The features of dramatic play often consist of hectic actions – pupils looking for fun but often in the sense of "having a laugh" rather than as part of a narrative (Fleming, 2011, p. 85). However, in an educational context, its weakness is the lack of "sufficient subject discipline means", which makes it hard for teachers and drama pedagogues to know what kind of learning and progression is going on. Further, reflection and progression are difficult to structure and envisage in dramatic play (Fleming, 2011). As drama is taught and developed, the activities have a structure and focus, and pupils become aware of dramatic techniques and narratives. A deepened level of engagement emerges, and pupils dare to slow down the action, which enables the exploration of meaning (Fleming, 2011).

I suggest that there is a dimension of play that is a precursor to dramatic play, which I refer to as what Øksnes describes as 'carnival play' (2011) (see also Mallan, 1999). The term originates from the medieval carnival tradition and its expressions (Bakhtin, 2007), as the Catholic church allowed the so called 'Feast of the Fools' (Cox, 1970), which was when common people were permitted to mock power. I suggest that carnival play sometimes occurs before dramatic play can take place, and it is characterized by strong physical expressions, irrationality and resistance to order – in other words, when "the body and the world are set in motion" (Øksnes, 2011, p. 129). This can be, for example, children spinning around as fast as they can, rolling down hills, hanging onto ropes and so on. In Øksnes' preschool study, carnival play was described by the children as something fun, rewarding and pleasurable, but she points out that it also tends to be individualistic, not focusing on interplay and collaboration. It can also contain problematic elements when children sometimes end up hurting other children. What the children describe regarding this type of play can be interpreted as a kind of pleasurable intoxication at the border of panic and dizziness (Øksnes, 2011). Øksnes argues that carnival play is related to 'an institutionalized childhood', where children's need for corporal expressions, imagination and the exploration of borders are a sign of how restrained they normally are in their everyday life (see also Löf, 2011).

Bakhtin describes the medieval carnivals as a culture of laughter, a laughter that was shared by 'the people' and in which the gods and authorities were mocked. However, the carnivalesque laughter was ambivalent, even though happy and cheerful, at the same time ironic and scornful (2007). Several drama writers have investigated the chaotic elements in play. Drama pioneer Peter Slade explored children's playing and dancing and argued for its importance. Playing where "the whole person is used" is described by Slade as 'personal play' (1995, p. 3). It encompasses moving about in the total physical, emotional and spiritual engagement that the person herself is 'doing'. 'Projected play' instead concerns when the child is mostly still and is projected into, onto or around objects around them. At its best, 'personal' and 'projected play' expresses sincerity and absorption (Slade, 1995). According to Slade, the freedom and possibility for children to experience absorption and sincerity in these two aspects of play support learning in how to use one's energy. Personal play creates the prerequisites for improvised drama, in which children can express their feelings, overcome inner and outer 'enemies' and investigate different roles (Slade, 1995). Another description Slade uses is the 'running play':

> Discernible phenomenon of intense and sudden out-flow caused by joy, which finds expression in an abandonment of all else to a form of fleet running, generally with bent knees and arms outstretched. It is in part a measure of the success in achieving out-flow. (Slade, 1995, p. 13)

Mallan (1999) describes an event when pupils in Grade Three were given agency to create their own storytelling and how features of opposition to teacher-control and ridicule without censure were observed. Analysing the incident from the storytelling workshop, Mallan (1999) describes how one of the groups' performances was characterized by the "complete absence of seriousness for both players and audience" (p. 115). The story lacked a coherent narrative structure and resembled what Bakhtin (1984) describes as "carnivalesque behaviour". Mallan (1999) argues that the pupils' carnivalesque performance derived from the fact that he himself started the lesson by telling them a humorous story (which was echoed in their story). Also, that the exercise was child-dominated, and that props were introduced to them, which came to play an important part. Another key aspect was that the audience (their classmates) continuously laughed and cheered their performance, which fueled them to act even more intensely. Mallan concludes that

the incident highlighted his own ambivalence between supporting the pupils' creativity but at the same time wanting to keep control of the lesson. The incident illuminated children's need for carnivalesque play but underlines the necessity for a teacher's vigilance in noting aspects of its oppressive capacity towards pupils who were not able to or did not want to take part in the grotesquery (Mallan, 1999).

Silfver advocates for the need to work with clownery in compulsory school in order to create a bridge between the carnivalesque culture in which a contradictory logic is allowed, different to a school culture dominated by right and wrong (2011). The carnivalesque dimension, Silfver claims, creates a space for play, narrative, laughter and poetry, which allows one to openly doubt and question limits (Silfver, 2011, p. 176). Cohen illuminates the importance of carnival in Bakhtin's and Sutton-Smith's theories, related to aspects of pretend play and its imaginative, spontaneous, unpredictable, flexible and powerful qualities (2011). She highlights that these features are often seen as inappropriate in the eyes of adults because they escape their control and are seen as irrational. Cohen refers to carnival play as children in pre-school utilize play areas, costumes, and props in order to explore different roles in provoking ways and by grotesque embodiment, for example, a high vocal pitch, galloping around, crawling on the floor and loud laughter. Further, Cohen describes their play as "double-voiced discourse in playful dialogic interactions to free themselves from the authority of adults and to develop a better understanding of their social significance" (2011, p. 186). Another perspective is discussed by Tam (2010) as she investigates the 'teacher as fool' and conceptualizes drama education as a kind of carnivalesque teaching in pre-school in Hong Kong. Drawing on Bakhtin's notions of decrowning–crowning, she argues that teachers can play transgressive roles in drama practice, and thereby empower the children and share her power as an adult and teacher. Tam concludes that the 'teacher as fool' can support children's need for carnivalesque play and empower them. However, it implies a constant challenge to resist the mainstream ideology and prevalent educational culture, and additionally, within themselves as teachers, aims to impose moral and social norms on the children (Tam, 2010). Especially when working with younger pupils, drama practitioners can benefit from being aware of and prepared for carnival play and how to approach its expressions.

Drama in education in Sweden

Due to the position of drama in primary school today, there is a growing interest in carnival play. Informed by Foucault's genealogical perspective, an analysis of the development of drama in education, particularly in Sweden, was made. In this section, I account for this analysis, which serves to elucidate diverse circumstances that had an impact on the growing field of drama in education in Sweden. By employing genealogy, Foucault aimed to deconstruct a view of history, in which finding the origin by linear and chronological analysis was carried out, though he argued it leads to distortion and reduction whereby questions of power become undisputed (1984). Given that I have taken a critical point of departure in this study, I find it relevant to question the common description that the reason for drama not becoming a mandatory subject is only because it has been part of language teaching. Hence, I have sought to interrogate the diverse circumstances which made some features of drama possible to develop within compulsory school and others not.

Drama pedagogy relates to several fields, but its close kinship with theatre is obvious. Concerning the origin of European theatre, the traditional view is that it derives from ritual, which explains its close relation to ancient Greek rites and Christianity (Pettersson & Smids, 2004; Schechner, 1993). Intense debates followed the development of theatre in ancient Greece and in the Catholic Church, and philosophers and politicians debated whether dramatic activity was useful or should be seen only as harmful and demoralizing entertainment (Coggin, 1956; Pettersson & Smids, 2004). Aristotle pointed to man's natural need to imitate and believed that tragedies could have a cleansing effect on the audience through catharsis, while Seneca condemned dramatic activities, as they lured people away from serious pursuits of learning (Coggin, 1956, p. 24). The question of the 'usefulness' of drama and theatre in conjunction with play is apparent today in the educational context (Silfver, 2011). Schechner (2006) argues that the basic theme of ancient Greek tragedy was "the struggle between the unconstrained power of free play and the rule of law" (p. 106). Schechner claims that in striving for rationality, Aristotle and Plato contributed to the development of western thought, where "laws had to be obeyed" and "free play was replaced

by rule-governed games" (Schechner, 2006, p. 106). Schechner underlines that this struggle has continued throughout history:

> From the Enlightenment through the nineteenth century, a strong effort was made to rationalize play, to control its anarchic expressions, to channel it into numerous rule-bound, site-specific games and various official displays enacted as public, civic, military, or religious spectacle. (Schechner, 2006, p. 89)

The idea of rituals as the origin of theatre is questioned by Rozik (2002), who claims that it is a specific, innate imagistic medium, which originates from "the spontaneous image-making faculty of the human psyche" (p. ix). Although drama played an important role in Catholic mass and education during periods of the Middle Ages, Rozik suggests that this practice only derived from the fact that "the Church simply discovered that drama is just a medium and thus able to serve any purposes, including its own" (Rozik, 2002, p. 107). On the other hand, the nomadic tradition of mime, *commedia d'ell arte* and the like all contain provoking expressions, critique of power holders, puppetry, dance and storytelling, which was out of the reach of control by the church and was therefore discouraged and rejected by its representatives (Rozik, 2002; Heed, 2007). In 1210, Pope Innocent III issued a ban on priests performing in plays in public spaces (Pettersson & Smids, 2004) and a 'ban' is, says Foucault, a concrete example of a discursive exclusion procedure (1971).

The characteristics of theatre formed 'outside the church', where elements of improvisation developed, like the questioning of hierarchy, comedy, laughs and possibilities for the audience to interact with players. These are all essential in the development of drama pedagogy (Silfver, 2011). Given the features of 'anarchic expressions' (Schechner, 2006, p. 89) and 'spontaneous image-making' (Rozik, 2000, p. ix) in theatre and drama pedagogy, these serve to question education solely built on rationality. In education dominated by rationality, the rejection of drama as a discrete subject can thereby be viewed as a discursive exclusion procedure. A historical example of resistance to authority related to theatrical practice is the medieval carnival tradition and its expressions (Bakhtin, 2007; Cox, 1970). By exploring 'the classroom as carnival' in her research, Silfver refers to the medieval carnival 'Feast of fools' in which people turned hierarchies upside down and critiqued authorities (2011). However, according to Cox, the demise of the

‘Feast of Fools’ signaled a significant change in western society, where the change of religious patterns, new social and economic practices, and the Industrial Revolution resulted in a more rational and instrumental way of life (Cox, 1970).

In the 17th century, the practice of drama in Jesuit schools was frequent throughout Europe, foremost in order to train pupils in rhetoric and recite texts by heart (Bolton, 2007; Braanaas, 1985; Hagnell, 1983). The study suggests that as long as proponents succeeded in arguing that drama could be useful, it was tolerated. This is in line with Foucault’s idea of division and rejection, where “reason is hailed and madness rejected and made invisible” (1980, p. 8). Foucault points to the need for societies to establish “truths” in order to organize their institutions:

> The will for truth rests on the support of institutions and institutions’ distribution, with a tendency to exercise – I still speak of our society – a kind of pressure on, and forcing a power over, other forms of discourses. (1971, p. 13, my translation from Swedish)

Drama in education underwent a continuing process of division and rejection where interactive and improvisational elements became separated from drama in favour of ‘useful’ aspects. In the nineteenth century, when childhood as a phenomenon became accepted and educational ideas focused more on children's needs and thinking, drama in education gained ground in the school context again (Hagnell, 1983; Lindvåg, 1988). Sweden's earliest documented drama pioneer, Ester Boman, led the Tyringe boarding school for girls (10–18 years) between 1909 and 1936, where subjects like psychology and women's history were taught to her pupils. She was influenced by John Dewey's ideas, in which education as experience rather than just book-learning was a key question (Hägglund, 1999). Drama and theatre were practised on a regular basis at Tyringe boarding school, and Boman described improvisation as a useful tool in the study of the humanities. She saw drama not only as a tool for learning in other subjects but also as an ‘experimental laboratory’ and underlined the usability of what she called ‘everyday drama’, where the pupils could express themselves through topics that were important to them (Hägglund, 1999).

Educational drama, considered by many writers to have originated in Britain and the United States during first half of 1900, is related to the growing democratic perspective on education and was inspired by Dewey's ideas of 'learning by doing' (Lindvåg, 1988; Rasmusson, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001). Scandinavian writers (Bolton, 2007; Braanaas, 1985; Lindvåg, 1988; Rasmusson, 2000) refer to American Winifred Ward as an important inspiration. Her concept of 'creative dramatics' was translated into Swedish (*skapande dramatik*) and was widely used during mainly the 1970s in Sweden (Braanaas; 1985, Lindvåg, 1988; Rasmusson, 2000). Ward differentiated between creative dramatics and traditional theatre, where, in the former example, children's own creativity was in focus instead of the usual practice of memorizing dialogues written by adults. She did not reject children performing theatre, but nevertheless, focused on a methodology based on children's play and improvisation (Bolton, 2007; Lindvåg, 1988; Rasmusson, 2000). Ward advocated for creative dramatics as something that should be "taught" rather than "used", which indicates that she saw this practice not only as a method to be used as learning media but also as a subject in its own right (Ward, 1930, cited in Bolton, 2007, p. 27).

Swedish Drama pioneer Elsa Olenius started out as a librarian and invited children to dramatize stories at the library (Lindvåg, 1988). Inspired by Ward's ideas, Olenius' practice grew, and in 1940, she founded *Vår Teater* (Our Theatre) in Stockholm, which still exists today. Olenius encouraged children's improvisation and was opposed to conservative school theatre. In 1960, engaged as a teacher at Sofia municipal school for girls in Stockholm, her objective was to introduce creative dramatics. However, contrary to what she wanted, the label of her teaching had to be "preparatory exercises for speech" and not creative drama (Lindvåg, 1988, p. 57). Olenius, as other proponents for drama, advocated for it to become a compulsory subject that would contain more than just preparatory exercises for speech, but she was not able to convince the powerholders to go through with that (Lindvåg, 1988; Sternudd, 2000).

British drama theorists and practitioners strongly influenced the development of drama in Sweden (Österlind, Østern & Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). The development in Britain during the 1900s, as in Sweden, moved towards less of a focus on literature and language and more towards pupils' agency and improvisation. An important pioneer who came to question the discourse of drama

only as part of literature and language teaching in Britain was Peter Slade. He started his work with children's theatre, but through the observation of children's play, he developed the idea that children had their own unique art form that should be encouraged (Bolton, 2007; Fleming, 2011). Slade's writings were not translated into Swedish, nor considered very accessible by Swedish drama practitioners, but his follower Brian Way's book *Development through Drama* (1967) was early translated to Nordic languages and widely spread. Way travelled to Scandinavia and gave lectures for teachers' education on several occasions, and his book was used in drama courses (Braanaas, 1985; Rasmusson, 2000). In this book, Way states that "this book is about how humans – not drama – evolve" (Way, 1967, p.12) and that the basic definition of drama should be "practicing how to live" (p.17).

According to Fleming (2011), some of the drama practices in the 1960s inspired by Slade and Way were criticized because the teacher divided the children into groups, giving the pupils the responsibility to create a play and then sat back, which often resulted in chaos and thereby seen as negative by school establishments. Instead of fruitful discussions on how to develop drama practice in school, it often created resistance, and as Foucault points out, discourses are controlled by society in order to "avert its powers and its dangers, to cope with chance events, to evade its ponderous, awesome materiality" (Foucault, 1971, p. 8). As Fleming indicates, in some respects, there has been a distortion of both Slade's and Way's work. Fleming points out that, what Slade and Way really objected to was a formal theatre tradition that was teacher-centred and where children were expected to act out ideas and words created by others rather than developing their own ideas (Fleming, 2011). However, the idea of drama as "practising how to live" has had a deep impact on drama practice in Sweden. In the Swedish national curricula between 1962 and 1969, drama is motivated by personal growth and social interplay (Sternudd, 2000).

In the 1960s and 1970s, the political climate gave more room for progressive ideas in education in Sweden, and relations between drama practitioners developed in Scandinavia. In 1972, the Norwegian journal *Drama* transformed into a Nordic journal when Sweden, Finland and Denmark became editorial partners. Over the next ten years, the journal was a meeting point for intense

and excited debates, reporting about drama practice from the four countries (Rasmusson, 2000). During the 1960s and 1970s, the debate in the Nordic countries mirrored the British debate concerning how to view drama in the school context, in particular, whether theatrical or pedagogical perspectives should be in focus (Braanaas, 1985; Rasmusson, 2000). In Sweden, the theatrical tradition in drama education was not as strong, and psychological ideas increased in drama practice during this time. In Stockholm, Dan Lipschütz heavily influenced the debate, arguing for the importance of group dynamics and claiming that drama practice was incompatible with authoritarian leadership. Drama as personal growth became an important ingredient in the practice (Braanaas, 1985). In contrast to many others, Lipschütz believed that drama should be seen solely as a pedagogical method and not a discrete subject. This caused many reactions and contributed to the comprehensive discussion of drama as a method or a subject that continued during the 1970s in the Nordic debate (Braanaas, 1985; Rasmusson, 2000). O'Neill describes the many terms used to describe drama in a school context throughout history, which gives an idea of the development of this field:

> Dramatic activities in the classroom have been known as educational drama, classroom drama, informal drama developmental drama, curriculum drama, improvisation, role drama, creative dramatics, and creative drama. Each of these labels is either limiting or tautologous. (O'Neill, 1995, p. xv)

A complementary perspective in drama practice emerged when Dorothy Heathcote's work in Britain caught fire. Her practice aimed at implementing drama across the curriculum, and she wanted to challenge pupils' problem-solving skills and thinking regarding themes important to them (Fleming, 2011). Heathcote's ideas spread, and one of her followers, Gavin Bolton, further developed her ideas in his practice and writing. Bolton has been one of the most influential drama theorists in Sweden; he visited Scandinavia and held lectures for educators, and in addition, Swedish drama educators travelled to Britain to meet with Bolton and study his work (Braanaas, 1985; Grünbaum, 1986; Rasmusson, 2000). However, it seems Heathcote's and Bolton's practice, later called 'process drama', did not take root in Sweden. Their ideas were taught in drama courses, but the practice did not spread to schools to any notable degree. In their article,

"Heathcote in Sweden – just passing by?" Hallgren and Österlind suggest this is related to the lack of research in the method in Sweden (Österlind & Hallgren, 2014).

During the 1980s, an intense debate about the theoretical grounds for drama education took place in the Nordic journal, *Drama*. On one side was Swedish researcher Wiechel, based at the teachers' education centre in Malmö, and on the other side was Norwegian editor Braanaas. Wiechel saw drama as a pedagogical method with an eclectic theoretical ground. Braanaas criticized Wiechel for lingering in the 1970s, when drama practice was strongly influenced by psychology and argued that drama should be seen as an art subject with its theoretical grounds in theatre (Rasmusson, 2000). There were initiatives to promote drama as a subject in all the Nordic countries, but the arguments differed. It seems most of the writers for the journal went with Braanaas – the objective was that drama should be seen as an art subject, and based on that, be accepted as a discrete subject. Despite serious engagement among drama teacher associations in the Nordic countries, drama was moving towards the periphery, and in general in Sweden, the possibility for teacher students to study drama was diminished as well (Rasmusson, 2000).

Referring to the situation in Britain, Bolton agrees with the description of the low status of drama practice during the 1990s when he states that "a deadening hand, political as well as philosophical, lay temporarily on the development of drama in UK schools for the final decade of the twentieth century" (Bolton, 2007, p. 55). Sternudd (2000) concludes that drama became reduced in national curriculum, Lpo94, and the formulations where it occurs relate to general objectives of cultural and aesthetic practice. The same formulations have remained in the current curriculum, Lgr11, where drama is still in the margins. Drawn from several researchers, the current discourses of neoliberal education "narrows human capacities" (Nodding, 2005, p. 28), which can be related to the view on aesthetic subjects in compulsory school (Adams & Owens, 2016; Ball, 2012; Piasecka, 2016; Österlind, Østern & Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). The endeavour to establish drama as a mandatory subject in compulsory school in Sweden is closely interwoven with cultural and political changes in society. In an article, (2016) Swedish, Norwegian and Finnish drama researchers conclude that despite educational policies and the rhetoric about creativity and art subjects in compulsory education, drama is "squeezed into small numbers of lessons" (p.

52) or none at all. Even though the situation for drama is better in Norway, Finland and Iceland, the focus is on drama as a learning medium and not as a discrete art form (Österlind, Østern & Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). This analysis suggests that drama has remained in a marginalized position though it elucidates the need to question power and discursive orders in order to develop as a subject in its own right in a compulsory context.

Critical perspectives on Drama

As described previously, the lack of a processed conception of drama as a subject in Sweden, has placed it in the margins of the educational context. It can be argued that there are advantages to an underdog position, but as its theory and practice consistently hold a low status, the disadvantage of its position seems to weigh heavier. Also, due to the position of drama in education, researchers and practitioners may hesitate to bring forward critique of the field in fear of substantiating its low position. However, all fields need to be scrutinized in order to develop, and in the following, I refer to some recurrent issues related to drama practice that I consider pertinent in relation to this study.

Despite efforts to introduce drama as a discrete subject by different proponents throughout history in Sweden (Sternudd, 2000, Österlind, Østern, Thorkelsdóttir, 2016) and that it has been given generous formulations in some of the previous national curriculums, it remains in the same position. There is no national drama teacher education, and the position in the curriculum for drama is weak. Research has been underdeveloped (Österlind, 2007), although it has been increasing extensively in Sweden in recent years (Österlind, Østern, Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). However, drama theory and practice are often fragmented and unproblematized. An analysis of the presence of drama in curricula in Nordic countries (except Iceland) describes the problem of the inconsistent use of concepts, which creates difficulties in the field (Dahl, 2005). Given that drama is not a discrete subject, there is no agreement upon content among practitioners working in compulsory school. In my experience, the areas still dominating the view of drama are personal growth and group dynamics, which are commonly described as ‘basic content’. The lack of

syllabuses in drama and its role as “blotting paper” has further added to its confusing position in compulsory school (Rasmusson, 2000, p. 263).

This is not unique for Sweden, and according to O’Toole, the underdog position and the lack of research, drama researchers tend to avoid critical perspectives on drama (O’Toole, 2009). Further, in order for the research field to develop, there is a need for polemics which has been lacking (Österlind, 2007), and Neelands points out that “consensus can be a dead hand which stifles necessary struggles within the field” (Neelands, 2000, p. 86). Nevertheless, drama is requested by many schools related to a variety of areas (Lindgren, 2006). Löf (2011) investigated a practice called ‘life skills’ that was applied in Swedish schools mainly during the 1990s and early 2000s, in which drama was commonly used as a pedagogical method. ‘Life Skills’ is not a subject in the curriculum, but a measure that evolved as a reaction to problems concerning children's attitudes and behaviour. The practice later became criticized by focusing on psychological rather than educational themes, and teachers risked sliding into the role of psychologists rather than being teachers. Since drama was often used, Löf reviewed drama research in Sweden at the time and found that a critical perspective was often lacking (2011). Based on her observations, she argues that drama exercises used in ‘life skills’ sometimes violated the children's privacy, with teachers becoming ‘therapists’ and that normative pressure on the pupils occurred. Löf's critique should be considered but also questioned; she does not state whether the teachers in her study are trained in drama, which is of great importance. Nevertheless, her analysis is valuable, and her remarks can be related to the assumptions of drama as a tool mainly for social training and personal development in school in Sweden.

In another study, Lindgren examined how school staff at several schools expressed themselves about aesthetic subjects (in Lindstrand & Selander, 2009). One of the emerging patterns was that staff described aesthetic subjects as particularly important for pupils with different types of difficulties in school. The discourse among the teachers revolved largely around students' social and emotional needs. Lindgren claims she found a discourse of assumptions that arts create conditions for increased self-confidence in students without finding evidence for this in research.

Elsner (2000) came to the same conclusion in her study when she asked art teachers to describe their work. She points out a difference between music, visual art and drama teachers, where the latter underlined the importance of personal development and social interaction in a way the others did not. Drama pedagogues also emphasised that in drama practice, the "instrument" used is one's self, which is different from music and visual art to some extent. Another difference was that drama teachers did not refer to their subject as the bearer of a cultural tradition as other teachers in art subjects did (2000).

As discussed, the discursive struggle about how to view drama in the compulsory school context has remained throughout history. Lindgren claims that the discourse among Swedish teachers in aesthetic subjects has many parallels to the progressive era in the 1970s. However, Lindgren points out there is one important difference: during the 1970s, a strong focus was on encouraging pupils' curiosity and eagerness to learn, while in the current educational policy, teachers seem to underline the importance of pupils' independency and at the same time adjustment to current discourses in society and education (Lindgren in Lindstrand & Selander, 2009). Adjusting to the current discourse can be related to the increasing demands for 'employability', which places constant pressure on proponents for arts subjects in school (Österlind, Østern, Thorkelsdóttir, 2016). A rationalistic epistemology does not give much room for explorative and carnivalesque elements. In fact, "the current trends in politics do not favour art subjects and the managements trends demanding evidence of learning do not allow much space for the arts" altogether (Österlind, Østern, Thorkelsdóttir, 2016, p. 43).

3. METHODOLOGY, METHODS AND TOOLS OF ANALYSIS

This chapter accounts for my methodological choices which are anchored in critical ethnography. The chapter presents the chronology of the study**,** the context of the school project and a presentation of the participants. Further, my chosen methods of data collection and tools of analysis are described**.** The chapter closes with a section on reflexivity and ethical considerations.

I have approached my research process as explorative, by which I mean that I started out with broad research questions in a dialogue with the research team (Österlind, the principal at Dalhem School and the Director of the culture centre) and the drama team (teachers and drama pedagogues) and in this process, my research questions were further chiseled out. The thesis considers drama as part of a holistic epistemology based in constructivism, in contrast to objectivism. Constructivism asserts that learning is constructed through a process where knowledge and beliefs are challenged, deconstructed and transformed into an altered understanding (Gallagher in Ackroyd, 2006; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018), which also applies to the research process. I let myself be inspired by Pelias' words: "I speak the heart's discourse because the heart is never far from what matters. Without the heart pumping its words, we are nothing but an outdated dictionary, untouched" (Pelias, 2004, p. 7).

3.1 Critical ethnography

In the initial phase of my research process, my intention was to employ action research. A characteristic of action research is that it aims to improve practice, and it is a method commonly used in research in the school environment (Patton, 2002; Rönnerman, 2012). Given that my study was a collaboration between teachers and drama pedagogues and involved several groups of pupils, I wanted to apply a bottom-up perspective where the participants' questions could impel the research process. A close and constant oscillation between theory and practice is an important aspect of action research, which I also found important in this study (Patton, 2002; Rönnerman, 2012; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). I soon realised though, that the possibilities

for the teachers and drama pedagogues to document their work and participate in scheduled reflexive dialogues (a premise in action research) was limited, which made this type of research difficult to realise. I concluded that the circumstances of my study leaned towards an ethnographic approach, but nevertheless, I strived to let participants' questions and our common experiences during the process influence my research. Further, given that drama pedagogy is anchored in emancipatory epistemology, critical ethnography is suitable for drama research, as described by Gallagher:

> A critical epistemology for drama research is especially fitting because the activity of drama itself is about taking up positions and spaces to examine the worlds they produce. The dramatic world has infinite stories to tell the actual world; it is both informed by it and fleeing from it. (Ackroyd, 2006, p. 63)

I position myself as a participant as well as a researcher in this study, aiming to make my subjective stance explicit as well as account for participating teachers', drama pedagogues' and pupils' perspectives and experiences as faithfully as possible (Patton, 2002; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Further, I consider my approach to be inductive, that is, to allow the analysis to emerge alongside the data collection to discover important patterns and themes rather than organize my study around an initial hypothesis (Patton, 2002; Gallagher in Ackroyd, 2006; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018).

There are several orientations of ethnography, but regardless of the orientation one chooses, ethnography always interprets and applies findings from a cultural perspective. Patton explains that ethnographic inquiry takes "its central and guiding assumption that any human group of people interacting together for a period of time will evolve a culture" (2002, p. 81). According to Foucault (1998) and Pignatelli (1998), critical ethnography has applied a post-structural perspective over the past decades. Pignatelli explains that critical ethnography is oriented towards democratic and emancipatory goals, which, like in Foucault's work, implies questioning "regimes of truth" (Pignatelli, 1998; Foucault, 1980). Furthermore, Quantz (1992) explains how this means that:

> for ethnography to be considered 'critical' it should participate in a larger 'critical'

> dialogue rather than follow any particular set of methods or research techniques [...] The contribution of critical ethnography to this dialogue lies principally in its ability to make concrete the particular manifestations of marginalized cultures located in a broader socio-political framework. (p. 448)

Dalhem school can be described as a 'marginalized culture' in the sense that it is positioned in a so called socially vulnerable area in the city, and most of the pupils belong to minority groups in society. Further, drama as a subject is marginalized in the compulsory school context, as it is not a mandatory subject. Gallagher claims that a critical ethnographic perspective in drama practice contributes to the illumination of role-taking among participants and that the variety of genres and narrative modes in drama can interrupt traditional views and thereby support a critical view (Gallagher in Ackroyd, 2006). Further, I find it important that even though learning and meaning-making is dependent on power, discourse and context, subjects are capable of making their own life decisions and influencing the culture in which they live (Foucault, 1988; Patton, 2002; Fairclough, 2003; Gallagher in Ackroyd, 2006).

Critical ethnography in school

Jeffrey and Troman (2004) describe ethnography as a commonly used method in school research. They question the claim historically applied to ethnographic research, namely, that the researcher has to spend a long time in the field to have the findings be considered serious research. The ethnographic method often involves the researcher, through "thick description" (Geertz, 1973), getting close to the people and the social reality being studied, which traditionally meant that the researcher was expected to spend much time in the field. Jeffrey and Troman (2004) point out that, like in society, research conditions are changing, and in contemporary research, funding for longitudinal research is hard to obtain. Therefore, demands on long-term ethnographic research need to be problematized. The fieldwork period in my study lasted for one year, and although I was not present at the school for more than one week a month, it offered reasonably good conditions for me to follow a process and to conduct observations. Further, I draw on Patton's view that

> being pragmatic allows one to eschew methodological orthodoxy in favour of

> methodological appropriateness as the primary criterion for judging methodological quality, recognizing that different methods are appropriate for different situations. (Patton, 2002, p. 72)

In a comparative study, Jeffrey and Troman (2004) identified three approaches for ethnographic studies in school research: 1) compressed project, 2) periodic project, and 3) regular project. The first variant involves the researcher's presence in the field for a short, yet intense period. Variant two, periodic projects, involves a longer research period of between three months and two years. The flexibility of the visits is high and the frequency depends on the focus of the researcher. Here, the researcher strives for an in-depth analysis. Lastly, in the regular project, the researcher aims to study recurrent phenomena (e.g. the start of a semester, national tests or other clearly defined activities). Informed by Jeffrey and Troman, my fieldwork can be described as a periodic project. The fact that time passed between the different occasions I came to the school sparked the idea of email correspondence between me and the teachers and drama pedagogues, which proved to be an important source of data.

3.2 Chronology of the study and the school project

The collaboration between Dalhem School and the culture centre began on a small scale by 2010 (in which I had no part) and led to the idea to apply for a grant announced by the municipality in 2012. During spring 2012, the principal at Dalhem school, the Director of the culture centre, and Eva Österlind from Stockholm University applied for the grant for a project called "Drama in the teaching", which was approved by the end of the spring semester 2012. During fall 2012, some activities with staff at the culture centre and Dalhem School were carried out, and preparations for the project were made. As my application for doctoral studies at the University of Chester was initiated, Österlind invited me to take part in the study.

In January 2013, as I met with the research team at Dalhem School, I took part in a preparatory meeting with the school staff where the project was presented and I introduced myself and my aim to initiate a research study. I asked them to participate in a joint discussion and to write down their thoughts and questions, individually and in small groups, concerning drama in the teaching.

I asked for their consent to use their, anonymous, notes as data in my research. Eighteen teachers participated and all of the group notes were handed in to me, along with three individual notes. During this meeting, all the teachers were asked if they wanted to take part in the next phase of the project and in the study. Three teachers volunteered to work together with a drama pedagogue: Anna (Grade Two teacher), Betty (Grade One teacher) and Christian (Grade Four teacher). David (Grade Three teacher) was interested in taking part but did not want to engage a drama pedagogue in his teaching. Previously I had been informed that Ingrid and Rachel were the two drama pedagogues from the culture centre, who should participate in the project.

At my first meeting with the drama team (four teachers and two drama pedagogues) in October 2013, I informed the group of my intentions for the study and considerations regarding ethical perspectives. We discussed our views, questions and aims for the project and the study, and the participants signed the consent forms. Research in compulsory school settings requires informed consent by parents and pupils. We agreed that the teachers would distribute a letter from me to the parents, and if possible, talk to them in person in order to explain about the study and give an opportunity for them to ask questions. The parents received a letter from me, with my photograph, a presentation from me and information about my study. They were asked to fill in informed consent forms in which they allowed me to collect data from the drama lessons.

I visited Dalhem school nine times in total, the preparatory meeting in January 2013 included. My fieldwork comprised eight visits: September–December, 2013 and also in January, February, April and May, 2014. The email correspondence between me, one teacher and the two drama pedagogues continued sporadically after my last visit at the school in May 2014, which gave me the opportunity to ask clarifying questions, as well as follow their continuing work at the school.

3.3 Context and participants

In the following section, I present Dalhem School and the teachers and drama pedagogues who participated in the study as well as the pupils who are cited in the interviews and described in the observations.

Dalhem School is in a medium-sized city located in the north of Sweden in a suburb in a so-called socio-economical vulnerable area in which many nationalities are represented. The principal described the school as small, with approximately 150 pupils from many different cultural backgrounds at the time of the project. The school takes pride in having "good opportunities for outdoor activities" (website), for example, a football field, illuminated tracks for jogging in the nearby forest, and skiing next to the school during winter. In this part of Sweden, winters are often long and cold, and in the local culture, outdoor activities are seen as an important part of life. Skiing, skating, hiking, fishing and berry-picking are common activities. The teachers at the school told me that many of the families that live in the area have backgrounds from Africa and the Middle East which possibly involves quite different living experiences.

The schoolyard of Dalhem School is large, and there is plenty of room for the pupils to play. The school building is large as well, and during the project, several spaces were available for pupils to sit and talk or play. It was easy for me to interview pupils, as I could sit in an empty room close to the classrooms and the pupils could take turns visiting me. Prior to the project, a drama room was prepared in conjunction with the growing collaboration with the culture centre. The drama room is quite big, with a black carpeted floor and black curtains all around the room. At the time, the room contained a small round red carpet, on which conversations and storytelling sometimes took place, and the room had chairs and equipment for music as well. A locked closet contained theatre costumes and props that were not often used by the first, second and fourth grade classes but were used more often by the Grade Three class because their teacher, David, focused on theatre and performances in his work rather than process drama.

Presentation of teachers and drama pedagogues

The following is a presentation of the educational context for teachers and drama pedagogues who took part in the study. Their names are anonymized.

No national university educational programme for drama teachers is offered in Sweden, but there are a range of university courses. The term generally used for drama practitioners is drama pedagogue, and a two-year programme for drama pedagogues is offered in independent adult education, otherwise known as folk high school. The two drama pedagogues engaged in this study were educated this way, but neither of them had any experience of working with drama as part of the compulsory school practice. Two of the participating teachers were educated in the 1970s when aesthetic subjects were more present in teacher education than today. This is accordingto their own descriptions and backed up by analyses of the national curriculum at the time (Sternudd, 2000). The two teachers refer to this as a reason why they practice drama in their teaching – it was natural to them. The other two teachers also had experience with drama in their educational background but claimed their interest in drama was primarily based on personal interest.

Anna, a Grade Two teacher (8-year old pupils), had previously worked with a drama pedagogue from the culture centre. She was eager to learn more and became engaged in the email correspondence. Anna was interested in drama both as a discrete subject as well as a method in teaching across the curriculum. Anna developed into a key respondent, as she engaged in several dialogues with me during my visits, not just our formal meetings.

Betty, a Grade One teacher (7 years), was close to retirement and foremost saw drama and music as tools that naturally formed part of her teaching with younger pupils. Her experience was mostly based on dramatizing fairy tales and stories. She appreciated working with a Drama pedagogue and the opportunity to learn more about process drama as a way of developing her teaching.

David, a Grade Three teacher (9 years), did not want to take full part in the project and did not collaborate with any of the drama pedagogues. However, as the project proceeded, he became

more involved and asked to be able to consult with me in relation to his drama practice, and thereby he became involved in the study. David has had many years of experience as a teacher and much previous experience working with traditional school theatre in his practice.

Christian, a Grade Four teacher (10 years), had practiced drama foremost as part of history teaching. He saw drama as a tool, but during the project developed his understanding that drama could be seen as a discrete subject. Christian considers drama to be important but found it challenging in relation to the increasing pressure of assessments in year four.

Ingrid was the most experienced drama pedagogue. She worked for many years at the culture centre and worked together with Betty in Grade One and Christian in Grade Four. She saw the project as an important part of the culture centre's democratic assignment, and for her own part, as an opportunity to learn more about drama in the compulsory school context and of process drama. Ingrid also developed into a key respondent from the perspective of drama pedagogy and engaged in the email correspondence. My recurrent informal dialogues with Ingrid were an important part of my understanding of the process in the project.

Rachel, the younger drama pedagogue, also worked at the culture centre with children and teenage volunteer groups. In the initial phase of the project, Rachel considered it to be a significant challenge to work in compulsory school, where drama practice was to be mandatory. Rachel developed a devoted and fruitful collaborative work with Anna, and together, they contributed with important reflections in our email correspondence.

Presentation of pupils

When I initiated the email correspondence with Anna, Rachel and Ingrid, we discussed how to approach the ethical aspects of writing pupils' names, given that our places of employment (for me, the Swedish state, and for them, the municipality) stipulate that emails are to be considered public. Against this backdrop we used numbers to represent the pupils in our emails. Thereafter,

I changed the numbers to anonymized names for the pupils. The table presents the pupils quoted in interviews and questionnaires or mentioned in field notes and email.

Grade One	**Grade Two**	**Grade Three**	**Grade Four**
Nina	Juha	Edna	Mergime
Sebastian	Tommie	Sam	Laura
Benjamin	Ladislaw	Kit	Dodoma
Leyla	Adnan	Dora	Malak
Lily	Richie		Hariz
Kent	Abe		Mohammed
Herran	Tarek		Robert
Sabina	Miriam		Elisabeth
	Leona		Moira
	Ylva		Lena
			Agnes
			Ria
			Amina

3.4 Methods of data collection

This section describes the methods for data collection. (For the data collection table, see Appendix A). Given that my study concerns the implementation of drama in primary school anchored in a holistic epistemology and in a critical ethnographic view, I wanted to collect data in which school staff and drama pedagogues as well as the pupils' views were documented in order to gain as broad a picture as possible and to achieve shifts-in-attention (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Because the nature of my research is ethnographic, *observations, field notes* and *interviews* were the basic methods used. Besides interviewing some of the pupils in all four groups, I *video recorded* five lessons. The data consisting of the email correspondence in which the two drama pedagogues, one teacher and myself was engaged in, is being categorized as *personal documents* (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006). Additionally, the pupils were asked to fill in *questionnaires* in order to describe their thoughts about their drama experiences. The questionnaires are not utilized as evaluations, but rather seen as data that complements the interviews in order for more pupils in the groups to be heard.

Participant observation

A basic source of data collection in the study was *participant observation,* which meant that I sat in the back of the drama room during drama lessons while pupils sometimes interacted with me. Participant observation is a continuum, ranging from full participation to the position of a spectator distanced from it, and the extent of participation can change over time (Patton, 2002; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). I consider observing lessons in primary school in a detached way to be impossible. If an outside person is present in the room, the pupils will eventually interact with this person. Therefore, I occasionally took part in a game or exercise in order to step away from being anonymous and to 'present' myself to the pupils and invite them to interact with me. As described by Patton, I was fully immersed in the experience as a participant, but I was also always aware of my additional role as observer (2002, p. 266). The observations of the drama lessons were mainly documented with field notes, but on five occasions, these were supplemented with audio and video recordings.

Research in a school environment puts the question of what role the researcher should employ at the fore. Cohen, Manion and Morrison suggest that this role can vary from being a teacher, friend, inspector, social worker and librarian, and the researcher will most certainly experience role conflict, role strain and ambiguity. This is an inevitable part of fieldwork, but what role(s) one chooses to take is not possible to determine in advance but rather requires ongoing negotiation (2018). As the pupils at Dalhem school had no previous experience of researchers, they approached me in the beginning as a visitor and eventually as a kind of teacher, even though I aimed to escape the teacher's role during observations, for example, by avoiding instructing or correcting them. When I participated in drama lessons, the pupils interacted with me in a similar way as with the teacher or the drama pedagogue.

Field notes

As pointed out by Patton, field notes are first and foremost descriptions, but can also contain the observer's reactions to the experience. Field notes will allow the researcher to return to the observation in a reflexive process, (2002). At the first visit, I used a notebook for my field notes and tried to jot down as much as possible during lessons. Naturally, it was challenging to write fast enough, especially as there can be a lot of 'action' going on in drama lessons. It also meant that I had to look down in my book when writing, which had the effect that I would miss observing important things. At my second visit, in October 2013, I started to write down my observations directly on my laptop during lessons. The laptop caught some pupils' interest and they asked what I was writing, which gave me a good opportunity to talk about my role as researcher. I read some of what I wrote to the pupils who asked, which caused amusement and interest. I realized at an early stage that I would have to use symbols or key words in order to be able to observe what was happening during the lesson. When the lesson was finished, I could complement my notes with what was missing (Patton, 2002). The same was true for those occasions when I spoke to pupils and to school staff and drama pedagogues during breaks.

As I started out from an explorative and inductive perspective, I strived to note something about all areas – content and structure, drama tools, interactions and the pupils' responses. Soon I experienced what Patton describes as "vague and overgeneralized" field notes (2002, p. 303). As I worked on developing detail in my field notes, I started to use drama terminology, for example, "drama-contract", "entering as if" and "improvisation" in combination with descriptions of what happened and who was involved. Field notes during lessons therefore consisted of symbols, key words and short sentences. Given that I stayed at the school the whole day during my visits, I tried to sit down immediately after the lessons to complement my notes. By January 2014, my research questions had become clearer and different themes had emerged in the project. I started to observe the drama lessons in a more focused way from certain perspectives. I utilized terms as 'tensions' and 'negotiation', in reference to my emerging use of the 'ecotone' metaphor.

Interviews

My endeavour was that the interviews I conducted would have the function of what Kvale denotes as *inter-view* (1996, p. 14), that is to say, an encounter in which an interchange of thoughts, experiences and questions were exchanged between the persons involved. The advantage of an unstructured interview is that it has great flexibility and is an open situation where the researcher is open to the respondent's initiatives (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Drawn from Patton, the purpose of open-ended interviews is "to enable the researcher to understand and capture the points of view of other people without predetermining those points of view through prior selection of questionnaire categories" (Patton, 2002, p. 21).

I utilized a combination of what Patton (2002) describes as *standardized open-ended interview* and *informal conversational interview* with adults and pupils, which were scheduled during the weeks I was present at the school and were audio recorded. The 'standardization' of the interviews included that the same set of questions was used as I interviewed all the pupils, but sometimes just one or two of my questions were used, if the pupils wanted to talk about other aspects. In interviews with teachers and drama pedagogues, the questions concerned two themes; respondents' thoughts about the drama lessons I observed, and what they considered

important in relation to the progression of the project. The two interviews with the principal at Dalhem School, were open-ended but were 'standardized' in the sense that the first one concerned his motivation to implement drama in the teaching, what opportunities and obstacles he recognized. The second interview had the nature of an evaluation of the project, from the principal's perspective. I also collected data by *informal conversational interviews*, which involves "the spontaneous generation of questions in the natural flow of an interaction, often as part of ongoing participant observation" (Patton, 2002, p. 342). These conversations typically took place during breaks or before and after a drama lesson and were not audio recorded. Instead, main statements were written down as soon as the conversation was finished.

In addition, two *meetings* in which the four teachers and two drama pedagogues participated were audio recorded, and are described as *group interviews* (Patton, 2002). I initiated the meetings and they concerned the drama team's experiences of the ongoing project. However, I do not consider them as *focus group interviews* because in these, problem solving or decision-making should not be a part (Patton, 2002), and the meetings/groups interviews with the drama team contained elements of both these aspects. Further, focus group interviews are defined by Cohen, Manion & Morrison as data collected from the *interaction* of the group members (2018). The meetings I recorded had the structure where each participant described his or her thoughts and experiences of the drama practice, and followed by a joint discussion of what the members saw as the main challenges and how they could be approached. During the meetings I asked questions in relation to what the participants described and, in that sense, it was an interview. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2018, p. 526), group interviews can generate a wider range of responses than with individual interviews, and they can give organizational and practical advantages, which was the case in this study. The biggest challenge in the study was to gather the drama team to discuss the progression in the project and share experiences and questions. The two group interviews contributed to a common understanding of what others in the project described as satisfying or troublesome.

I conducted fifteen interviews with pupils, in pairs or three at a time. These interviews were audio recorded. Drawn from Hennessy and Heary (2005), interviewing children in pairs or in groups reduces the amount of pressure on individuals to respond to every question and allows respondents to support each other, which tends to result in greater openness. Additionally, participating with classmates can compensate for the power imbalance between child and adult (Hennessy & Heary, 2005). I initiated all interviews with the same question, "what is the first thing that comes to your mind, when you think of drama?", and used a prepared interview form with a few other questions, but the pupils were free to lead the conversation in any directions they liked. The interviews were optional, but in Grades One and Two, the teachers suggested that the pupils who already sat together in pairs in the classroom would be interviewed together. Even though the interviews were presented as optional, it cannot be ruled out that pupils experienced 'informal pressure' to consent to being interviewed (Greene & Hill, in Greene & Hogan, 2005). Aware of this, I strived to be observant to the children's body language in order to be aware of possible discomfort or physical expressions supporting or contradicting their verbal utterances. Some of the pupils enjoyed talking and were reluctant to go back to the classroom.

The pupils I ended up interviewing depended on what was practical at the time and which pupils agreed to participate. The interviews were short, lasting only between 5–10 minutes. They were held in a room close to the pupils' classroom and conducted during different lessons (not drama lessons). Therefore, the pupils could not choose the place and time, which would have been advantageous. However, the interviews were organized as an optional part of school day, and as the pupils had become accustomed to me visiting the school (e.g. by following them to different lessons, eating with them, talking to them during breaks), it seemed to me that many of them approached the interviews as a welcome break from their ordinary schoolwork. A positive aspect in my interviews with the pupils was that most of them acted as if they were comfortable answering my questions. Some of them joked and answered in a provoking way, for example "I don't know, I am too lazy to think about it" or simply asked, "Can I go now?", which I took as a sign of them stating their integrity.

Video recordings

Given that all of the parents did not consent to their children being filmed, and I considered it would disturb the lesson, I only videotaped short sequences with the children who expressed their consent. Video recording is a useful tool in classroom observation because there are many persons in the room and children move a great deal. A comprehensive challenge in drama settings concerns its improvisational nature, richness of expressions, and many levels of interplay. Video recording provides detailed multimodal data which can be viewed many times and thereby reduce misinterpretations. Further, the comprehensiveness of the material enables the researcher to scrutinize the data (Patton, 2002; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). On the other hand, participants may change their behaviour to what they believe is desirable, or, in a provoking way. The camera also frames the recorded situation in the eye of the camera, which is different to a human observer who can quickly turn her head to another position. Additionally, video recording means that observed events are processed through a medium other than human eyes and ears, and it is important to bear in mind that a camera is not neutral (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018).

I analysed four video recordings with sound, one in Grade two, and four sequences in Grade four. I chose to analyse situations as the pupils performed scenes to their classmates in an attempt to document their creative work, and also how they interacted in and with the physical environment (Patton, 2002). I was conscious of the parents and pupils who did not consent to being filmed, and I asked the pupils again at the beginning of the lesson if they would allow me to film them. I held the camera in my hand most of the time because this was less disturbing than when it was placed on a tripod. The recordings contain pupils working in pairs or groups performing short scenes like for example 'The magic pizza' (Chapter 4.6). The major recording analysed, involves the lesson of 'The Viking Village' story (5.6) and contains three parts. The first part is in the classroom, as the teacher Christian reviews the story of the Vikings that they had been working on. The second part is in the drama room as pupils perform their scenes, and the last part recorded is the reflective dialogue after they all showed their scenes. In the last part, I turned the camera to the floor because I considered it a risk that the pupils would be intimidated by the camera and then not dare to speak. The video recordings are a valuable complement to other

observations and interviews because they display the pupils' corporal expressions and gave me complementary data to compare with the pupils' verbal utterances during interviews and my observations.

Emails as personal documents

As described, my initial aim was to employ action research, given that the study encompassed an intervention and aimed for a change of practice at the school. But due to practical circumstances at the school, ethnographic methodology was employed. However, I continued to look for ways to let the questions of the drama team direct the process of my study. Therefore, I suggested that participants in the drama team could email their lesson plans to me as well as their reflections and evaluations of the lessons and they accepted the idea. The two drama pedagogues, Ingrid and Rachel, and Anna, a Grade Two teacher, started to write to me. The email correspondence developed as our joint questions, comments and reflections became an important part of the process. I categorize the email correspondence as *personal documents* because they are in the form of letters written by respondents and provide data about the author's actions, experiences and beliefs (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006).

The methodology literature discusses internet research, for example, in relation to surveys, social media and blogs. As the internet is an everyday part of many people's lives, it can be considered a natural part of ethnographic studies (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018) and is described by Hine as 'virtual ethnographies' (2000). Another example is email interviews which are a growing field and present advantages in terms of availability and flexibility with reference to time and location (Lichtman, 2013; Cohen et al., 2018). Another benefit of email correspondence is that respondents have more time for personal reflection and encouragement to immerse themselves in the narrative compared to conversations or face-to-face interviews (Busher & James in Delamont, 2012).

Personal documents suggest respondents' view of experiences which they have written themselves. Personal documents solicited by the researcher, have the advantage that the

researcher can direct the respondents' focus (Bogdan & Biklen, 2006), which I was able to do concerning matters that specifically interested me. The correspondence in the study was solicited in the sense that I initiated it, and I suggested a structure for the writing in terms of lesson plans, aims for the lessons, and reflections about how the lessons turned out. But the major benefit of the email correspondence was that I received descriptions and reflections formulated by the respondents themselves. Further, the email correspondence enabled me to engage in an ongoing dialogue with respondents and developed into a self-reflexive function where questions like *What do I know?* and *How do I know what I know?* became transparent (Patton, 2002).

Questionnaires

As interviewing young pupils about experiences in drama offers many challenges, describing experiences in drama is difficult for anybody, I searched to find complementary ways of documenting their experiences in continuous dialogue with the teachers. They suggested using methods that the pupils were accustomed to, for example, questionnaires with circles displaying emoji faces, where the pupils were asked to draw happy, sad or indifferent expressions when reflecting on different activities in school. I suggested supplementing with sentence-completion instead of questions. Based on my own experience, the quality of children's answers is enhanced by using the option for pre-written, sentence-completion rather than asking them to start with a blank sheet or questions. Drawn from Cohen et. al (2018), semi-structured questionnaires have a clear structure and focus, yet still enable the respondents to reply in their own terms to a certain degree, which opens up personal answers. Questionnaires with open-ended statements must be comprehensible to the respondents and not too demanding, and they must be formulated in a way that assumes that participants have something to say in the matter (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018).

Questionnaires were carried out in Grades One, Two and Four. In Grade One and Two, the pupils were asked to draw emojis, where different headlines were accompanied by an empty circle. The headlines included the names of the different process dramas or stories used during drama lessons. There was also a possibility for the pupils who wanted, to write a comment underneath

the emoji. I have the emojis drawn by Grade Two pupils concerning one particular story. In Grade Four, semi-structured questionnaires were utilized and were carried out during one occasion at the end of the study. They contained open-ended statements for example: “When we are about to have drama, I feel…”, “The drama contract is…”, “It is difficult for me when…” and “My best memory is…”. I was present during the lesson and introduced the questionnaire as part of my research, and their thoughts would be helping me to understand their opinions and thoughts. I was also able to talk with some of the pupils during the lesson and afterwards, in conjunction with the assignment, which gave me further information about the pupils’ thoughts.

Transcription and translation

When processing and analysing the data, I listened to every audio recording and viewed the video recordings several times, which is important in order to get “a sense of the whole” and to establish if there are any “glaring holes” in the data (Patton, 2002, p. 440). Hammersley discloses that there are several decisions to make in the process of transcription (In Delamont, 2012). I transcribed the majority of the interviews, but I chose not to transcribe those in which the pupils did not say anything related to the drama practice. Recordings in which I was not sure what was said, I did not use (Hammersley in Delamont, 2012). I decided not to include non-word elements, such as laughs and other noises (Hammersley in Delamont, 2012), as I considered it would have been insuperable in regard to the extent of the study and the workload. I decided it was more important to include as many interviews as possible in my data. I chose to analyse and transcribe video recordings in which pupils’ creative work was displayed, and those I considered contained a substantial content in relation to my research questions and to the metaphorical model. Given that my study took place in a Swedish school and my doctoral studies took place in England, I needed to translate all of my data from Swedish to English. Birbili (2000) points out that

> collecting data in one language and presenting the findings in another involves researchers taking translation-related decisions that have a direct impact on the validity of the research and its report. (Birbili, 2000, p. 1)

Temple and Young state that basic questions concerning the translation of data are epistemological and methodological and concern how the researcher positions herself and how

language is viewed (2004). As I position myself in constructionism, that is, that 'reality' and 'truth' are negotiated and agreed upon (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018) I view language as part of this construction which in turn is dependent on its context. Further, the post-structuralist turn comprehends that discourse constructs meaning and that meaning can never be locked due to the instability of language itself and that the boundaries around languages are permeable (Foucault, 1993). In this thesis, I argue for a holistic epistemology which stresses the importance of multimodal perspectives of communication (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). This means that during observations and interviews, I strove to take into account the participants' varied expressions, for example, those which are not only verbal but also corporal and environmental.

Given that "language constitutes our sense of self as well as enabling us to communicate the ways in which we are similar to and different from others", the translation of data concerns questions of identity and power (Temple & Young, 2004, p. 174). Transparency concerning translation issues is important in relation to validity; for example, whether the researcher herself is the translator or if it is done by someone else. I translated the data myself, but have been able to discuss the translation with my editor. Further, the variety of my data collection has given me opportunity to listen to my respondents in different settings, which has helped me to get to know their ways of communication. Researchers always hold a power position in relation to respondents, and questions of trust are always at the centre of ethnographic studies. Therefore, an important question is whether the researcher as translator is familiar with the research context and setting or not (Birbili, 2000). Due to my experience of drama practice in primary school, I was asked by the teachers and drama pedagogues to have a coaching role as well as that of a researcher, which I took as a sign of trust, but on the other hand, it presented a greater challenge for me to be aware of the differences in the two roles.

The pupils were in a vulnerable position in several aspects. Children always hold an unprivileged position in relation to adults since they have limited possibilities to speak for themselves, in this case, in relation to teachers and a researcher. Furthermore, most pupils at Dalhem School do not master the Swedish language, which further underlines the importance of taking into account the

various ways pupils can express themselves. A positive circumstance for the study was that most of the pupils found drama fun and stimulating which created good conditions for dialogue. Visiting the school nine times in total, I had the chance to get to know the participants, to observe them in a process and in different situations that gave me the opportunity to reconsider my data. As I have translated the transcripts myself, I consider it an advantage that I have worked for many years with children in these ages, and have knowledge and experience of communication with them. The downside is that I do not have the linguistic expertise which would have ensured that the translations were consistent. In order to deal with this issue, my editor received some of the Swedish versions of the quotations used in the thesis as a precaution.

Transcribing and translating interviews with children are an extensive challenge. Also, most of the children do not master Swedish, which means that their sentence structure (syntax) and vocabulary are often incorrect. I strived to get as close as possible with the translations, but in order for the reader to understand what was said, I have made some careful adjustments. This also applies to the interviews with the adults to some extent, but even though I aimed to translate their utterances as accurately as possible, some formulations in Swedish are not comprehensible in English. I draw on Fairclough, who describes a "fairly minimal type of transcription" (1992, p. 229) in order to keep the respondent's personal way of speaking. I have marked pauses with ellipses in all interviews, and also when the respondents interrupt each other.

3.5 Tools of analysis

In this section I will account for my chosen tools of analysis which are critical discourse analysis according to Fairclough (2003), and multimodal analysis as described by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001).

As Patton points out there is a great challenge to make sense of a massive amount of data and reduce its volume to an essence of what the data reveal (2002). Given that I collected data during one year, used several different methods and aimed to capture pupils' as well as drama pedagogues' and teachers' perspectives, the challenge to process my collected data was major.

The process became “recursive, non-linear, messy and reflexive” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2018, p. 644). Due to the comprehensiveness and diversity, I employed a progressive focus, which means that the analysis was subject to “continual modification, addition, refinement, excision, extension and amendment” (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018, p. 644). In an early stage I realized that discourse analysis would be an appropriate tool for analysis though my study concerns tensions between the official documents (the national curriculum) and the school staff, the drama pedagogues’ and the pupils’ utterances, concerning drama in school. Further, there were tensions between utterances and practice. I employed Norman Fairclough’s model of critical discourse analysis (CDA), through which I searched for patterns and categories in the ‘communicative events’ and in the participants’ expressions, and related them to discursive and social practice (Fairclough, 1992, 2003). Additionally, I employed multimodal discourse (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) as a complementary tool, in order to analyse pupils’ creative work, focusing corporal expressions and the use of space and artefacts.

Discourse analysis is commonly grounded in social constructionism (Burr, 1995; Fairclough, 2003; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000) and a premise related to this theory is a critical view of an objective truth. Language and our knowledge of the world is not a set of transparent mirrors but rather the result of our way of categorizing reality, which applies to the nature of my research. It also means that our views on reality are contingent, that is, they can change in different contexts (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000) and I was interested in the possible changes in discourses as drama was implemented in the teaching during one year. The notion of discourse is used in different fields and defined in different ways. Drawn from Foucault, discourse should not only be seen solely as linguistic orders but also as being interdependent with practice, which applies in this study. Moreover, discourse should not be defined only by what is said but also by what is kept in silence (1972). In this study, an aspect of silence stands for issues not discussed, aspects that can be described as “blind spots”, for example the question of interculturality, teaching and identity. Foucault and Fairclough both see discourse as something constituted as well as constituent (Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000). This implies that we all are imbedded in discourses determined by political, cultural and moral norms, but that we nevertheless have

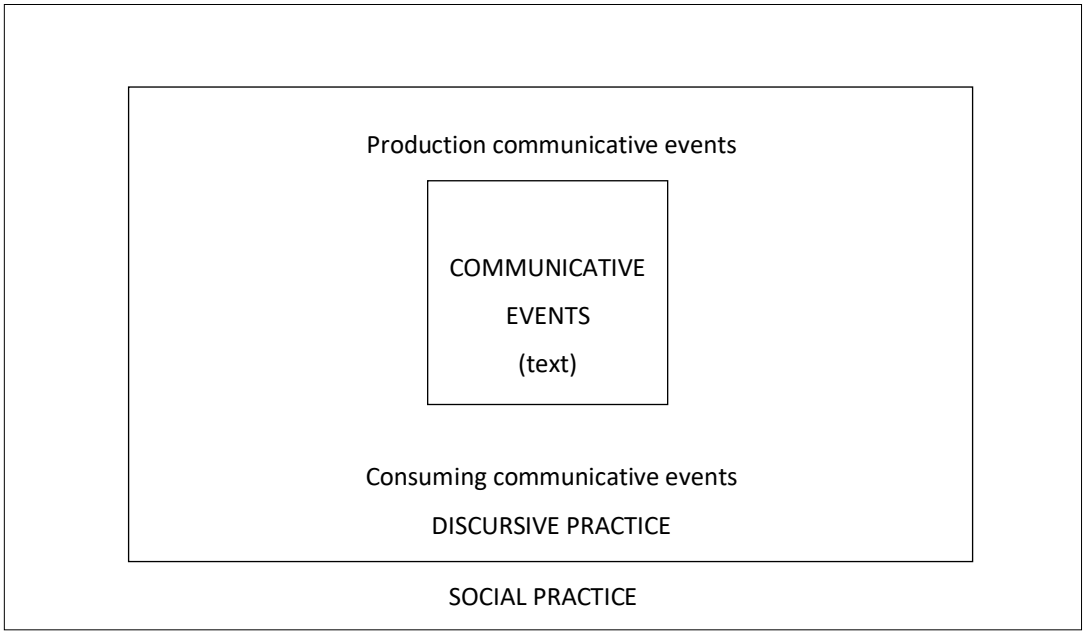
possibilities to question and change discourses. Related to my research, the school staff, drama pedagogues and pupils are affected by current educational politics, cultural framing and the curriculum, in which drama has low status. But by practising drama as a subject and method at the school, the discourse is problematized and negotiated.

During fall 2013, my analysis was pre-ordinate, that is, driven by a basic analytical framework formulated in advance of the project (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). I looked for opportunities and obstacles related to the implementation of drama, the chosen content in the drama lessons, pupils' responses to the drama practice and their interplay, and the collaboration between the teachers and the drama pedagogues, and I sorted the data in these broad themes. At the end of fall 2013, the analysis became more responsive to the emerging data and what it revealed in which communicative events were viewed as embedded in discourse which was analysed from a certain perspective (Fairclough, 2003).

In the discourse analysis I utilize Fairclough's tripartite model. The model encompasses the concepts of 'text', discursive practice' and 'social practice'. Fairclough employs the term 'text' in a multimodal sense, including spoken word, writing, images and a mix of these. In order to underscore the multimodal aspect, I will use the term 'communicative event' (CE) (Fairclough, 2003). At the end of fall 2013, I printed the data I gathered so far and used coloured pens to mark out patterns and categories in the material. I spread them all out chronologically like a path on the floor of a big drama room at my university. I 'walked through' the whole project, reading statements from teachers, drama pedagogues and pupils and from my field notes, which allowed me to physically 'go through' the project and gave me a 'helicopter view' of its progression. Thereby discursive patterns emerged, and aspects I had not noticed before were illuminated, for example, the absence of profound reflections of an intercultural perspective.

As my fieldwork was finished in May 2014, I transcribed the remaining data and printed the material again. As a first phase of CDA I carried through an analysis of the CE related to tensions, power and negotiation, learning, progression and meaning-making in the data. The

communicative events were then related to discursive practice, which in this case, implies the organization, physical environment, relational and educational practices, at Dalhem school. This phase of the analysis includes an analysis of the production and consumption of the CE. Questions of who are producing and consuming these CE were analysed. This includes the principal, the teachers participating in the project and their colleagues who were not, the drama pedagogues and the pupils. Further, I produced as well as consumed discourses, in meetings and in the email correspondence. I did also digest discourses of participants' descriptions of the events taking place in the project. The last phase of critical discourse analysis is to place the data in social practice (Fairclough, 1992), which I relate to current societal educational discourse, and is represented by my theoretical framework. The social practice includes the literary review, the national curriculum but also that the municipality granted money for the project. A central function in CDA is to spot changes in the discursive patterns (Fairclough, 2003), like, for example, the change of themes discussed by respondents during the one year of my study. Further, an important question in CDA is whether the communicative events reproduce the existing discourse or if they question it and negotiate new discourses. The following is my interpretation of Fairclough's model for discourse analysis (1992, p. 73):



(Fairclough, 1992)

Other important components in CDA are assumptions and intertextuality, which both connect communicative events to each other, to 'the world of texts' (Fairclough, 2003). This implies the degree to which elements from other communicative events are present in the data; for example, do teachers and drama pedagogues express different views, based on their different professional discourses. No CE are completely detached from others – they always build on others' statements, experiences and conclusions. The difference is that assumptions are not generally attributed to specific texts/communicative events, and limits the discourse. The origin of intertextuality might be possible to identify and therefore opens up critique and negotiation. Therefore, critical discourse analysis asks the question whether intertextuality is possible to trace, and if so, what it contains.

Multimodal discourse

A comprehensive challenge in drama research is how documented dramatic action can be described and analysed. It concerns not only general observations of the participants' behaviour and actions but also the participants' fictional actions and dramatizing. In a post-structural perspective, representation as a reproduction of reality is no longer valid (Rasmussen, 2001, Foucault, 1993). Therefore I employ Rasmussen's view, seeing aesthetic practice as pointing back to itself as an expression of meaning-making. Fictional practice represents only itself, yet creates opportunities for meaning-making through the way it is mediated and through the choices made by the participants – the actors and spect-actors (Rasmussen, 2001). This implies, for example, that when the pupils in my study dramatize a situation from a story or from daily life, they describe first and foremost their perception, understanding and meaning-making of the situation embedded in the context in which the dramatization was made. My interpretation of the dramatizations is analysed from this premise.

In operationalizing my analyses of the pupils' dramatizations, I utilize Kress and Van Leeuwen's concept of multimodal discourse, which they developed from a socio-semiotic theoretical framework (2001). In their work, they aim to develop a general terminology for semiotic modes

as part of contemporary changes where logo-centric (text-based modes) dominance is declining in society and education (2001). Rooted in semiotics, the multimodal theory seeks to acknowledge the diversity of modes in human expression and communication. Given that drama practice creates a vast range of resources – corporal expressions, voice, artefacts, physical environment, music, images and so on – a multimodal perspective is relevant to my analysis. According to Kress and Van Leeuwen, "Multimodal resources are available in a culture used to make meanings in any and every sign, at every level and in any mode" (2001, p. 4).

Kress and Van Leeuwen formulate four sections (termed 'strata') where meanings are made: 1) discourse, 2) design, 3) production, and 4) distribution. In this study, discourse comprehends all kinds of expressions – whether it be dramatizations, body language, voice, and the use of the drama room and props – that are all imbedded in discourse. I employ 'design' to describe the interaction in which the discourse is embedded and the particular way of combining these expressions. 'Production' is utilized as the practice which results in the material form, the (dramatic) expressions. It gives form to what is initiated by the design and enhances the process of creating meaning. The last strata, 'distribution', is obvious when it comes to recording music or publishing a book, but I will use it to describe the performance and in one case, the following reception. These four interwoven layers all contribute to create meaning (Kress & Van Leeuwen 2001).

3.6 Reflexivity

Patton states, in a condensed way, that being a qualitative researcher means being aware that objectivity is impossible and pure subjectivity undermines credibility (2002). Eisner elaborates that whatever we come to know about the world will be known through our experience and that

> Our experience, in turn is mediated by prior experience. Our experience is shaped by culture, by language, by our needs, and by all of the ideas, practices, and events that make us human. It is also shaped by our genetic capacities, those particular aptitudes or dispositions that constitute our intellectual thumbprint and distinguish us from the rest of humanity. (Eisner, 1998, p. 48)

This points to the need for the reflexivity and awareness of one's own voice and perspective in all its complexity. I am aware that I am embedded in discourse and that "no discourse can be radically stripped of presuppositions; nevertheless, no thinker is dispensed from clarifying his presuppositions as far as he is able" (Ricoeur, 1977). As a drama practitioner in an academic world where drama is a very small field, I am influenced by this underdog position, as is common with art teachers. Further, as drama is marginalized as an aesthetic subject in compulsory school – although my own experience is that it offers important contributions to education – the risk of bias is clear. For this reason, I strived to describe the drama practice at Dalhem School and my research process with all its struggles and shortcomings.

Participant observation underlines the challenge of acknowledging complexity that utilizes multiple data-collection strategies, engaging in, and being aware of one's experience, while at the same time, observing the actual events and sometimes interacting with respondents (Patton, 2002). A strength of qualitative methods is that the researcher does not approach the field with a predetermined hypothesis but instead aims to maintain an open mind so that insight and theory evolve from the data (Patton, 2002). Teachers and drama pedagogues are reflective practitioners, in the sense that reflection is part of their work. They constantly question, plan and evaluate lessons, leading to modification and change. This means that the researcher can connect to a practice already taking place.

In this study, our collaborative reflection was initially difficult to organize, but as we started our email correspondence, it developed into an important source of data. Due to these personal documents, we kept in touch between my visits at the school and did not need to spend time catching up every time I arrived but could instead refer to what we collaboratively reflected on in the emails, and thus, this became part of my reflexivity process. Further, parts of our writing had the nature of field notes, since much of the content concerned details of lesson plans, the pupils who were present in the lesson, the drama room, and events during the lessons. Drawn from Neelands (in Ackroyd, 2006), reflexivity brings an additional ethical dimension to reflection. Patton (2002) also states that reflexivity in qualitative research encompasses "the importance of

self-awareness, political/cultural consciousness and ownership of one's perspective" (p. 64). He argues that to avoid a thesis displaying a "mechanical, robot-like, distant and detached" feature, "the real, live human being, subject to all the usual foibles of being human" should not be disguised, hidden away or kept in the background (p. 63).

A comprehensive challenge for me in my research study became how to approach, develop and deal with my role in the project as it became dual roles. The teachers participating in the project asked for anyone that could be a project leader since previous experiences of a research project at the school left them confused and frustrated. Additionally, the drama pedagogues had never worked with drama in a primary school where the practice was mandatory, which made them feel insecure. Since I have previous experience as a drama teacher in compulsory school, they asked me to engage in the role as a mentor as well as a researcher. At the beginning of the study, I became aware how much I miss working in school with children, remembering that one of my motivations is to always create opportunities for children to play and express themselves aesthetically. As a lecturer at Malmö University, I observe teacher students in their practice in compulsory schools regularly, and I know from experience the importance of how to present myself and explain to the children why I am there. However, in the beginning of the study, I realized that my approach towards the drama pedagogues in particular, but also towards the teachers, was characterized by my thinking as a university lecturer, which, for example, included referring the drama lessons to current research. As part of my reflective process, I strived to let go of my role as lecturer and investigate my role as researcher.

As I realised how much I missed being around children in a school and engaging in drama practice, I became aware of the risk of losing myself in the joy of drama. I found Lahman's definition useful as a tool in the process: "If the act of reflecting is seen as occurring after an experience then reflexivity occurs before, during and after an experience" (Lahman, 2008, p. 291). Aiming for reflexivity throughout the study involved avoiding placing myself in my well-known role as a drama pedagogue, which would make it harder to keep an open mind and be aware of bias, assumptions and jumping to conclusions as a researcher. Drawn from Lahman, the child's

otherness in research is intensified by the adult's memory of their own childhood (Lahman, 2008), which can be included in the question of bias. Therefore, Lahman claims that, as researchers, we should query our feelings of understanding children, and in order to stand on a firmer ground,

> remain in a posture of questioning findings, reflexively considering the research process, acknowledging the power of our memories of childhood experiences over research interpretations, and respecting children (Lahman, 2008, p. 283)

An example of this occurred when there were differing views between the participants on how to proceed in the project, and I became caught in the middle. On one hand, it gave me access and closeness to the teachers and the drama pedagogue's didactic considerations and struggles that I might have missed out on otherwise. On the other hand, I was aware of myself being imbedded in an order of discourse which involves questions of power relations and the risk of counteracting agency and empowerment for the teachers and drama pedagogues, experienced and described by the school researcher Dixon (2011). An advantage was that there was an openness in the team, so I could openly discuss this matter with the teachers and drama pedagogues.

When discussing the notions of objectivity and subjectivity, I draw on Patton, who claims the terms have been "politicized beyond utility" (2002, p. 50) in the postmodern context. He refers to concepts like 'trustworthiness' and 'authenticity' as more fruitful. Validity and reliability in qualitative research lie in trying to understand the researched area as it unfolds, being honest about complexities, being transparent from bias, presenting multiple perspectives and reporting both confirming and disconfirming evidence (Patton, 2002). In a research project which involves close contact with people, the researcher's cognitive and emotional stance must be considered, and the question of empathy is raised. I draw on Patton's concept of 'empathic neutrality', which suggests "a middle ground between becoming too involved, which can cloud judgement, and remaining too distant, which can reduce understanding" (Patton, 2002, p. 50). When there were tensions between teachers and drama pedagogues having different opinions, I understood the teachers' position, as I am familiar with working in compulsory school settings, but I also understood the drama pedagogue's view and where she was heading, as drama is the subject I have taught. By being an outside part, and practising empathic neutrality, tensions were used as

topics of a reflective dialogue, which contributed to enhanced understanding on behalf of both parties.

As my study proceeded, two persons emerged as key respondents (Patton, 2002): Anna, Grade Two teacher, and Ingrid, drama pedagogue. They are both experienced in their work and serious proponents for developing drama practice in compulsory school. Their experience and knowledge were of great importance during the project, but they were also open to scrutinizing and negotiating their own practice, preparing to spend extra time and effort in the process and agreeing to meet me and contribute with personal documents after my fieldwork ended. They contributed as "sources of information about what the observer has not or cannot experience, as well as sources of explanation for events the observer has actually witnessed" (Patton, 2002, p. 321). At the same time, I was aware of the risk of relying on them too much, and thereby, as Patton points out, losing sight of the fact that their perspectives also were necessarily limited, selective, and biased (p. 321). One advantage in the process was that the teachers', drama pedagogues' and pupils' perspectives were negotiated during the entire project, which helped me see the bigger picture.

3.7 Ethics

Access to the research setting is not a matter of 'right' but rather that the researcher demonstrates trustworthiness, especially when the proposed research extends over a longer period of time. By inviting dialogue and informed consent and presenting information at an early stage, respectful relationships can be formed and the possibilities of the benefits for the participants can be explained (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). Bogdan and Biklen underline the importance of dialogue with the principal when conducting research in school settings since they often are key gatekeepers (2006).

The principal at Dalhem School actively supported and took part in the process of organizing the school project and he also supported my study by giving two interviews. As school staff previously collaborated with the culture centre with positive results, the teachers met the drama

pedagogues with openness. Nevertheless, the relation between teachers, drama pedagogues and me must be described as asymmetrical, since as a researcher, I have a great impact on the agenda, determining what counts as useful data and choosing what will be reported (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). It is therefore important to not lose sight of the obligations a researcher owes to those who contribute to the research and always to strive for reciprocity, which means giving back something to the participants in return for their participation (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). As I was able to talk with the teachers at an early stage and present my experience of working with drama in compulsory school, the teachers and drama pedagogues gained confidence that I had knowledge of the subject matter. Due to that, understanding, a common language, and certain terminology were shared, which supported our developing relationship.

In my preparatory discussions with teachers and drama pedagogues, we agreed that it was important that the teachers could relate the content in the drama lessons to the curriculum. The drama lessons should not be 'something else' than school-related practice. This was a key in the communication with the parents as they were asked to sign the informed consent. Given that most of the parents did not have Swedish as their mother tongue, the teachers aimed to talk with the parents about my study when they handed over the forms in order for them to ask questions. This was not possible to do in all cases, as the teachers did not meet all the parents. The parents signed the consent forms, but a few of them did not agree to their children being videotaped. At every occasion I visited the school, I explained to the pupils that I, as a researcher, was going to visit them occasionally and participate in and observe some of the drama lessons. I further informed them that I would like to talk with them about the drama lessons and interview some of them, but that the interviews were voluntary.

My endeavour was to approach the pupils as subjects, and I consider it a strength that I have previously worked in compulsory school and thereby have experience in how to approach children of these ages. But I also wanted to avoid bringing any bias related to my own experiences many years ago to this project. My point of departure was that "each child is a unique and valued experiencer of his or her world" and that "children encounter their worlds in an individual and

idiosyncratic manner" (Green & Hill in Greene & Hogan, 2005, p. 3). Further, I strived to approach the interviews as co-constructive processes of meaning-making while seeking to find ways of building trust and develop mutual understanding (Westcott & Littleton in Greene & Hogan, 2005). I found it important to interview the pupils as well as the teachers and drama pedagogues. To cite Green and Hogan (2005), "The child as an experiencing subject is a person whose experience and whose response to that experience are of interest to themselves, to other children and to adults" (p. 3). Understanding the pupils' perspective of drama practice is challenging because it is difficult for many children to formulate what they are thinking into words, and there is a high risk of them saying only what they think the researcher wants to hear (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2018). But my experience is that adults' and children's perceptions of everyday life in school often differ, which is why I saw it as crucial to interview all the participants and look for various ways to collect the pupils' views.

Approaching children in research creates certain challenges. According to Lahman, "Childhood as conceived of by adults is a word or world fraught with stereo-types and polarization" (2008, p. 282). Children's and teacher's different perspectives are unavoidable in the sense that it is the teacher's role to offer pupils the knowledge and experiences that they do not know they need in order to take part in a future society. But according to my own experience, adults (including myself) too seldom ask pupils honest questions about how they experience school life and teaching, which would give teachers more understanding of how to meet the pupils' interests. Lahman (2008) underlines the important question of the positioning of the researcher and the researched when the respondents are children. However sensitive the researcher may be, the child will nevertheless remain "othered". This indicates a person who is different, unfamiliar, or in the worst case, marginalized and oppressed. Often, this research can be described as involving "children who are racial minorities, of lower classes, or disabled [who] are being investigated primarily by white, able-bodied researchers who hold power positions in society" (Lahman, 2008, p. 282), which relates to my study.

Unlike many of the pupils, neither I nor any of the teachers and drama pedagogues have a non-Swedish background, which affects our relations with them. This is something that I was aware of, and in regard to this, I found Lahman's view useful when she describes how the research has an ongoing "positioning since it has a mobile feel suggesting a constant dance of reciprocity between adult and child as they negotiate their research relationship" (2008, p. 289). In an attempt to position myself as the researcher, my role can be described as "a different type of adult" (ibid.), not a teacher or drama pedagogue nor a parent but as an adult who came to visit now and then, taking part in drama practice and taking an interest in the pupils' perspectives. As Lahman puts it (2008, p. 290), this positioning allowed for "a multi-faceted, changeable relationship […] with a variety of children who will invariably perceive adults in different ways".

4. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS: SCHOOLING

The following three chapters present the analysis of the results in relation to the model of Schooling–Ecotone–Art. The area of focus in this chapter is the tensions that emerged at the edge of schooling and ecotone and possible edge-effects. It begins with an analysis of the preparatory meeting with the teachers at Dalhem School which was conducted before the start of the "Drama in the teaching" project, and it aimed to present and discuss the project and invite the teachers to participate. The first of two interviews with the principal are presented and then followed by data containing personal documents (emails), observations and interviews. The chapter closes with the second interview with the principal, which was carried out when the project as well as my study was concluded in May 2014.

4.1 Discourses in preparatory meeting

In the preparatory meeting (21-01-13) where I met with the teachers for the first time, the school staff shared their reflections on implementing drama in the teaching at the school, which is analysed in this section. In a collaborative exercise encompassing individual reflection as well as discussions in small groups and concluded with a joint discussion, they shared their viewpoints, expectations and questions. The teachers were asked to write down their most important comments, suggestions and questions in order to summarize their discussions in the small groups. They gave their consent for their written notes to be used as data. I analysed the notes and structured them into three discursive categories: 1) Organization, 2) Personal growth and social interplay, and 3) Learning through drama. In the following, I account for the discursive analysis which is based on a selection of quotes that best represents most of the comments.

1) Organization: drama related to timetables, the size of groups, possibilities for planning and collaboration with the drama pedagogues, and how the leadership of the project was organized.

- How are we going to find the time, and what other subjects will we take time away from?

- How do I plan for drama in other subjects?
- Who is responsible for the project?
- We need support – a leader for the project. We need knowledge and further training.
- To learn more – tips on what and how to do.
- It is not possible to have drama with whole groups. Will it be possible to split the groups in two?

The teachers' comments reflect their working situation as well as their assumptions and previous experiences of drama. Some of the teachers acknowledge their own lack of skills to teach drama and asked for support, which reflects a willingness to learn. Their statements can also be viewed as examples of professional, critical reflections related to their wish to understand the premises of the project. Further, although the national curriculum stipulates that "pupils shall have opportunity to experience varied expressions of knowledge" and that "drama shall be part of school practice" (Lgr11, p. 9), drama is seen as something from 'outside' that will cause the teachers to "take time" away from other, supposedly more important, subjects. These statements can be interpreted as expressions of the current educational discourse in which teachers are embedded (Adams & Owens, 2016, Biesta, 2011; Fleming, 2012).

2) Personal growth and social interplay: drama as a tool to support group dynamics, prevent conflicts, and support self-confidence.

- Social interplay, showing how to do.
- The psychologist said many of our pupils need a lot of 'squareness' – how does that work with drama? School structure is 'square', but drama is 'round' – can one have square drama?
- Suggest we work with forum play.
- Self-esteem and empathy.

These statements exemplify assumptions that drama practice supports personal and social growth and reflect worries that the school order and structure ("squareness") will bethreatened by turmoil when working with drama. The teachers' comments were partly based on their previous experiences of working with drama, and in the concluding discussion, this was viewed

as a crucial issue. A recurrent discussion among the teachers in the project was regarding the many conflicts among the pupils and an expectation that drama could support social interplay, which mirrors that, in the Swedish drama tradition, social aspects and group dynamics are often prioritized. In other aesthetic subjects as well, these themes are often in focus (Elsner, 2000; Lindgren in Lindstrand & Selander, 2009; Sternudd, 2000). In his writing, Fleming does not refer to social interplay, which was one of the most common responses to the question, Why teach drama?, but a recurrent formulation in English drama literature is drama for personal growth, which concerns social aspects (Fleming, 2011, p. 7) and can be interpreted as more of a focus on the individual rather than group dynamics.

3) Learning through drama: drama as a learning tool in other subjects, especially language teaching, but the teachers expected drama could be practised in relation to all subjects.

- To work with English in drama, role play, learning phrases
- Collaboration with other subjects
- Dramatize fairy tales
- To support science and social subjects

The teachers stated that they believed drama could support personal growth and group dynamics and be used as a tool across the curriculum. They also pointed to their own lack of knowledge and experience of drama practice and expressed concerns regarding what resources were set aside in order to follow through the project. This can be interpreted as intertextuality, rather than assumptions; that is, they expressed a willingness to learn more about drama, to broaden their perceptions. There were few comments about the specifics of drama as a subject. Only two teachers wrote explicitly “to dramatize” as a learning objective during the project, which exemplifies a common approach by teachers and is logical from their perspective. Even if there is no conflict between drama as a subject or a pedagogical method, in reference to quality and progression, it is important that there is an awareness of the aesthetic and artistic nature of drama. Fleming underscores that “to use drama effectively as a subject in an integrated

curriculum or as teaching methodology requires an understanding of the art form" (Fleming, 2011, p. 32).

As the project proceeded, there was a growing understanding of drama as learning method as well as drama as a subject and art form, but an important aim for the principal and teachers, in order to engage in the project, was that it supported teaching in Swedish. One aspect that did not surface during the dialogue with the teachers at this point was to connect the drama practice to pupils' life situations, questions and interests (Dewey, 1938, O'Neill, 1995). This implicitly encompassed intercultural perspectives and that most of the pupils belonged to minority groups in society (Delamont, 2012; Fleming, 2006; Mc Gregor Wise, 2008; Winston & Lin, 2008). Even though it was a premise for the project, and the grant from the municipality involved questions of ethnicity and interculturality, this perspective was not a topic of deepened reflection by the teachers, nor a prioritized theme in the process dramas chosen by the drama pedagogues. It became clear to me at the end of the first semester that these questions were not discussed in a profound way and I wrote in field notes "the question of interculturality is always present, but at the same time invisible" (12-12-13). Topics that are kept in silence are part of discourse as well and can be described as 'blind spots' (Foucault, 1993).

In the closing joint discussion at the preparatory meeting with the teachers, they emphasized the importance of structure during drama lessons, particularly in reference to pupils with special needs. These two viewpoints reflect the teachers' everyday challenge of meeting every pupil's individual need. It also reflects previous experiences of drama lessons which ended up in what was referred to as "chaos" and the importance of structure, which is underscored by writers in the field (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Bolton, 1984; Fleming, 2011; Neelands, 1984; O'Neill, 1995). However, the concept of structure understood by drama practitioners and by teachers differs and the challenge involves how to avoid orthodox schooling structures in which 'a hidden curriculum' involves unspoken rules that pupils are expected to learn how to be quiet, sit still, and the importance of waiting (Jackson, 1968). The discourse in the preparatory meeting displayed assumptions and previous experiences of 'chaotic' drama lessons and the concerns of how to

avoid this during the project, which, for example, caused teachers to claim that a prerequisite for the drama lessons should be to divide the classes in two groups. This issue highlighted the tensions regarding partition of bodies, space and time and is a common way to uphold disciplinary power (Foucault, 1987). Dixon also refers to how the explicit structures are used in order to school children into the world of reading and writing, which does not give much room for flexibility and improvisation (2011). While in drama practice, the structure aims to create conditions for pupils' creativity and agency and "to empower them" (Heathcote & Bolton, 1995, p. 4).

Overall, the school staff was open to implement drama in the teaching, but tensions emerged at an early stage. After her first drama lessons at the school, the drama pedagogue Ingrid wrote in email that she was concerned. What she describes as a "cultural clash" (23-09-13) illuminates the tensions soon occurring at the border of the habitats of schooling and ecotone. The teacher's perceptions of drama were based in the fact that most of them had little or no education and experience of teaching drama in a regular way. Ingrid and Rachel on their part, had no experience of teaching drama in a regular way in schools, but worked at the culture centre with children and youngsters on a voluntarily basis. Teachers and drama pedagogues therefore stepped into the project with different experiences, expectations and approaches. They were imbedded in different 'discursive orders' (Foucault, 1972). The intertextuality in the discourse contained assumptions, on behalf of all participants in the project, including me; that is, things 'said' against a background of what is 'unsaid' and taken as given which risk closing reflexivity. However, there was also 'intertextuality', which included negotiating and dialogue, and a willingness to learn and to reconsider (Fairclough, 2003).

Expectations and challenges for drama in the teaching

This section analyses the first interview I conducted with the principal, before the start of the project, but after the four teachers agreed to participate (21-02-13). It took the form of a reflective dialogue of what the project could hold, why the principal supported the idea and what he considered important. When I asked why the principal decided to support the implementation of drama in the teaching at the school, he gave several reasons, which can be referred to the

three dimensions crucial for 'good education' according to Biesta: subjectification, socialization and qualification (2011). The word 'social' occurred many times during the interview in different configurations. He stressed that many of the pupils were in troublesome circumstances which had impact on their school situation: "If you feel bad, no matter the reason, it is hard to learn". Like the teachers, the principal repeatedly referred to drama as a tool for socialization and conflict solving:

> The discussion about the social [aspects] have been present here during all the years… one chooses to work here because one is interested in social aspects… in that lies supporting pupils' ability for social interplay, getting children to grow.

The principal described what he saw as a dilemma; if the teachers focus too much on pupils' personal problems, it can sometimes overshadow their focus on teaching and the pupils' progression in learning. The principal saw drama as a possibility to develop the teachers' competence, and by that, create an environment where the pupils' social development, ability to interplay, and learning could be supported. The socialization dimension, which involves the variety of ways in which one becomes part of social, cultural, and political orders through education (Biesta, 2011, p. 28) stands out in his utterances at the time, but in reference to the intercultural perspectives, it was framed mainly in terms of challenges and problems, and not as a possibility for school development and the possibility of empowerment for pupils. Further, aspects of subjectification related to ethnicity and identity were only briefly mentioned in relation to concerns and challenges (Martinsson & Reimer, 2014, p. 121).

On one hand, this seemed natural, as my questions concerned drama and not intercultural aspects. However, on the other hand, the premise for the funding concerned an intercultural perspective and the context of the school is that of a socio-economically vulnerable area. Therefore, it would have been fruitful to further probe this aspect. In my following reflections as the project proceeded, I became aware of the need for problematizing of an implicit discourse concerning conveying Swedish culture through transmission, rather than recognizing the pupils' cultural heritage and seeing it as an asset. The habitat of schooling tends to aim for conveying not only knowledge but also the social norms of society, which risks recreating and maintaining

categories, stereotypes, biases, and perceptions of 'the other' (Biesta, 2006, 2011, Dixon, 2011). As this was an aspect which I had not processed myself in a clear way at the beginning of the project, I did not ask about this topic in the first interview. When asked about drama as method for learning, the principal stated the importance of approaching drama as "serious" and as a recurrent and integrated part of the teaching, and he underscored that in the teaching of Swedish it is important to utilize a variety of tools:

> Communication is maybe a school's most important mission and it is not only about words, therefor drama is close at hand. The easiest connection is to associate it [drama] to language and communication (…) it fits with a school's mission

The principal "found it easy to motivate" drama in the teaching as long as it was not seen as "playing". According to him, this view threatened to lower the serious ambitions of the practice, and he emphasized:

> Especially at a school with an increasing number of children with multilingualism, and even Swedish kids with bad language skills, we must invest in language, and language is not solely being able to spell

Besides socialization, the principal saw drama as a useful learning method related to the qualification dimension particularly concerning literacy. The subjectification dimension was described in terms of the pupils' personal growth – drama can help "get kids to grow". As Biesta employs the concept, he highlights the possibility for an individual to 'break into the world' as a unique acting person in relation to others 'otherness' (2006, 2011), not someone who is 'becoming' in order to adjust to an already fixed order. In the principal's choice of words, he stressed the importance of pupils being given the possibility to be creative, to do. He referred to an event that had deep impact on him and further motivated his decision to support the development of aesthetic subjects at the school. A teacher in crafts (sloyd) showed pictures of the handiwork the pupils made:

> Page after page [was filled] with the handiwork the pupils made, and I was very happy until I realized they were not our kids. It was another school […] then when he showed me what the kids […] accomplished here. It was [only] one page, and it was not even full. And I started to think, what is this? … because our kids are no different… [in] what

> they wish to do… what is hindering our kids' access to their creativity? […] and it struck me, we have to find ways for them to get hold of their creativity, because so awfully much of one's power lies there.

The principal recognized that the "Swedish pupils" in a nearby smaller school with "well-functioning homes" produced more creative handicraft, and he emphasized that the pupils at Dalhem School need to be given access to their creativity. He described his pupils' "wish to do" and that "one's power lay there" in the opportunity and ability to express oneself, which is a basic idea in drama and relates to Biesta's dimension of subjectification (2006) and Dewey's epistemology (1938).

At the beginning of the project, the principal's utterances were characterized by optimism concerning the project and he expressed an ambition that the collaboration with the culture centre could lead to a decision to officially announce Dalhem School as having an aesthetic profile. Further, he questioned the current educational discourse in the sense that he stated that aesthetic subjects are important in primary school, not just as a pedagogical method, but for its intrinsic qualities and that he was willing to assign resources to support the work. Simultaneously, he stated that he could not force the teachers to participate in the project; it had to be voluntary, which signals that he acknowledged the marginal position for drama in the school organization. The analysis of the first interview with the principal, reveals that his statements on drama can be referred to the three dimensions qualification, socialization and subjectification, but that the latter has the weakest connection. Further, as in the preparatory meeting with the teachers, the principal's view displays tensions between the schooling and ecotone habitats, even though not as explicit, which can be explained by the circumstance that he did not teach drama himself and did not experience the practical challenges.

4.2 Carnival play as part of the process

In the previous chapter, the physical environment and organizational context are discussed alongside the tensions that occur at the border of schooling and ecotone, often described by the drama team as 'chaos'. This thesis argues that turmoil during drama lessons also needs to be analysed in terms of carnival play. Carnival play, as a phenomenon in this study, involves aspects of pupils' behaviour which cause tensions in their interplay with each other and also in relation to the teachers and drama pedagogues (Bergström, 1997; Cohen, 2011; Mallan, 1999; Øksnes, 2011; Silfver, 2011). As Øksnes (2011) explains, in this kind of play not only are there many joyful aspects but also aspects involving children bullying and excluding each other. In the project, some of the pupils expressed themselves through 'here-and-there' movements that displayed spontaneous physical expressions with no particular purpose, objective, or endeavour (Øksnes, 2011). In Fleming's words, "to-and-fro" movements "not tied to any goal which could bring an activity to an end" (2011, p. 76) were apparent. According to neuroscientist Bergström, the development of children's brains needs both 'black' and 'white' games. White games stand for play in which there are order, children are interacting with each other and for the pedagogical play. Black games encompass creative but chaotic play which, according to Bergström, is necessary for children's cognitive development (1997).

This underscores the importance of drama in primary school and questions the increasing institutionalization in childhood which expects stillness and obedience (Dixon, 2011; Øksnes, 2011). In reference to the study, the different aspects of play prompted the drama team to reflect on how to approach this behaviour without falling back on disciplinary power. Examples of carnival play during drama lessons in this study, are, for example, when entering the drama room, several of the pupils started to run around in circles with loud voices which often ended with them lying in a pile on the floor on top of each other. At its worst, drama lessons started with enthusiastic pupils, but then dissolving into conflicts involving fights, screaming, throwing items, and disobedience towards teachers. At other times, it contained strong joyful moments and expressions but still contained expressions of protest to the teachers' and drama pedagogues' instructions. Another example is that pupils in second grade insisted on playing the game, or rather the competition, 'dance stop', during drama lessons. It allowed them to move freely to

music for a while, combined with the excitement of competing with classmates because when the music stops, everyone must stop, otherwise they are out of the game. Anna and Rachel often agreed to the pupils' request but were at the same time reluctant, as it tended to enhance a restless atmosphere and create endless discussions about who was the winner. The desire by many of the pupils to do 'dance-stop' in drama lessons can be interpreted as them asking the adults for support to frame their need for the carnival play. The engagement in dance-stop can be described as out-flow or running play and "the pouring out of creative forms of expression" (Slade, 1995, p. 13).

Slade's description seems to be dominated by a positive sense of the phenomenon and lacks the more negative aspects other writers describe, and Silfver describes carnival play as encouraging laughter and an over-riding of everyday rules. But she also acknowledges elements of resistance, the crossing of borders and the questioning of rules (2011). Although sometimes there were verbal disturbances (screaming, offending classmates and provoking comments to leaders), the key drawback in the turmoil during some drama lessons in the project, was the pupils' bodily movements, actions and expressions, which made it difficult to carry out some of the lessons. In an email (29-02-14), Anna describes a typical situation while improvising during a process drama:

> (…) they jumped over the wall and started to use karate kicks against the imaginary *Tossingarn*a [characters in the story]. It was a scene with much fighting, and at the end, everyone died.

Expressions of carnival play often took place before and after the lesson and broke out if there were pauses during the lesson but, as Anna describes, it was also interwoven in improvisations. The lesson described, aimed at engaging pupils in a process drama but was balancing on the border of carnival play and sometimes displayed what Øksnes describes as forms of anti-aesthetical, ugly, fragmentized, and chaotic protest to drama as something contained, aesthetically controlled and competent (Øksnes, 2011). Bergström states that 'black games' describes children's need to deal with cognitive processes, concerning how to integrate order and disorder, since their world is a whole and not parted in pieces, for example like school subjects

(1997, p. 35). When schooling is forcing pupils to 'white games' by pedagogical order, it sometimes results in protests in the form of carnival play (Bergström, 1997). Carnival play is related to the ecotone in the sense that an ecotone is 'wild' and uncultivated and not 'useful' in an obvious way. Since an ecotone is not cultivated and a border area, it is often 'messy' and disorderly. In a rationalistic epistemology where qualification is prioritized, carnival play will be seen only as disturbing and something to suppress, and not something to investigate in order to understand in order to learn from, in relation to creativity.

Discussions in the drama team were based on the mutual understanding that drama practice was challenging for many of the pupils, because it contained a new kind of working and learning. The pupils understood that they were permitted to leave the schooling habitat, but they did not yet understand what the ecotone habitat comprehended, and how to orient themselves in this environment. The team agreed it was their responsibility to create a functional structure, where all pupils could feel safe but also to choose contents that would engage all pupils as much as possible. Drawing on Bourdieu (1977), the challenge for the drama team encompassed deconstructing an aesthetic habitus formed by schooling and creating conditions for a widened habitus, made possible by the habitat of ecotone. When the drama lessons did not go as planned, the tendency at the beginning of the project was to go back to schooling. Anna and Rachel struggled to find ways to develop their leadership in order to engage the pupils and how to negotiate a joint imaginary world and establish 'belief' in drama lessons (O'Neill, 1995, Owens & Barber, 2006). The drama team needed tools to formulate, for themselves as well for the pupils, agreements that would achieve the developmental process. We discussed how to formulate and present a drama contract for the pupils (Owens & Barber, 2006). The drama contract which traditionally includes that a participant can choose to stand aside during parts of the lesson, or the whole lesson presented the dilemma, that if a pupil wants to stand aside, what would that pupil do meantime without disturbing participating pupils?

The drama team agreed on exploring how the drama contract could be carried out. The team found the drama contract helpful, even though it did not always work out as it was meant to. It

also elucidated the need for a clear 'play signal' in order to help pupils focus. It furthered the use of an 'imagination button' that everyone had on the body (including the grown-ups) and as the drama was to begin, everyone was asked to press their 'imaginary-button' while the leader called: "now the playing begins!" and at the end of the exercise or the process drama: "now the playing stops". In the following event, Rachel was not present, and Anna led the drama lesson herself. Anna wrote in an email (14-04-14):

> Three children were about to start their scene. But Juha sat down behind the curtain, and Tommie was not really participating. Suddenly, Ladislaw exclaimed, 'Miss, this is not working, they don't want to start the game!'

Anna recognized that Ladislaw incorporated the idea of a 'play-signal' and used it to describe his frustration and ask for her help. Although the pupils struggled to engage in 'make-believe' together, there were also examples of understanding the need for reciprocity and agreement, as Ladislaw expresses in the quote. During a process drama in Grade One, Ingrid describes how she spontaneously found another way of describing to the pupils the importance of an agreement. She wrote in email (27-09-13):

> I wanted them to relax a bit before we parted. But then they began to piffle and snore like madmen. I sat down and tried to calm the bouncy ones and stroke them on their restless legs, while I improvised and told them they were 'so tired after their long journey', and eventually the children calmed down. And then I kindly talked about the fact that games can be broken and destroyed if not everyone plays together and listens to each other and takes care of the game. It seemed that they actually understood and a couple of them asked in an upset manner – can the game break???

As Ingrid used the narrative which "works towards fulfilment" and a dramatic focus that served to shape the activity (Fleming, 2011, p. 76), she simultaneously gave them a metaphor that helped them understand their role in order to come to a closure of the process drama and the lesson. To care for the game and not break it, became key words Ingrid sometimes used, and it was a description the pupils understood. In this email she concluded that "Drama really challenges the order – the order that is the norm in the room of the school. I think the kids feel this tension and try out the limits of what order applies in drama" (27-09-13). The drama contract, the imagination

button and ‘not breaking the game’, became important signals in the negotiations and in the investigation of the different aspects of carnival play, dramatic play and drama.

This thesis suggests that carnival play is a phenomenon that must be taken into account as a possible part of the progression, when implementing drama in the teaching. Several writers have described creative but also destructive elements within carnival play (Bergström, 1997; Cohen, 2011; Mallan, 1999; Øksnes, 2011; Silfver, 2011) and it is therefore necessary that practitioners learn how to understand children’s (and youngsters’ for that matter) need for carnival play, how to approach destructive elements and how to channel the energy and compassion in the creative elements. Additionally, practitioners need to understand the elements of resistance to power intrinsic in carnival play and how to invite pupils to constructive negotiation of power.

4.3 Institutional power in the school organization

In the following, I will account for my analysis of the drama practice, and the material that I interpreted as situated at the border of schooling and the ecotone.

Schools are characterized by classrooms and bodies expected to move in a controlled way between these rooms and to be on time. This is the basic setting in the traditional school organization and part of societal expressions of power (Foucault, 1977, 1980, 1984; Dixon, 2011) and of schooling. Timetables establish frames and possibilities of the everyday life in school for pupils as well as for staff, but they also imply restrictions and expectations of control. The drama project at Dalhem School elucidated that moving from schooling to the ecotone caused tensions in relation to timetables, space and movements of bodies and required negotiation and flexibility among the school staff. The step from schooling to ecotone was not as difficult for the children as for the adults and on several occasions, pupils stated, they did not want to interrupt their drama work to go for a break or another lesson. Anna describes a lesson related to the process drama “The abandoned house” that Rachel created in the drama room with screens, chairs and fabric, which the pupils were invited to explore. On another occasion, in the classroom, Anna guided an imagined exploration of the house where the pupils were asked to describe how the

rooms looked in their imagination and write about it. Anna describes that the pupils were all engulfed by the narrative (email, 19-11-13):

> The children then wrote sentences about the rooms and what was in there. They thought it was really exciting and did not want to stop!!

What the pupils expressed can be described as entering the ecotone, in which kairos time was established and that they resisted moving back to schooling and chronos and leaving the imaginary dimension they found themselves in. During the project, some of the pupils expressed frustration concerning time, for example about classmates who did not concentrate on an assignment, which prevented them from focusing in the drama work. It sometimes caused stress, though the pupils often had just a few minutes to prepare a scene. A girl in fourth grade wrote: "The hard part with drama is to rehearse, one kind of does not have time" (Questionnaire, 20-05-14). In fourth grade, a group of pupils remained within the fiction during a break and discussed "the department lady" (teacher-in-role by Ingrid) who provoked them during the process drama, and one girl, exhilarated said, "I hate the hag". They also discussed intensely what they thought would take place in the story and another girl commented: "what if we don't find the bag" (Field notes, 12-12-13). The pupils were attracted to stay in the fiction in which they seemed to forget about time, but at the end of the lesson if the teacher or drama pedagogue aimed to initiate reflective talks, 'the magic' was broken and the pupils became aware of time, that they were tired, and hungry. It was also difficult to weave in talks during a process drama, because the pupils wanted 'to do', to be physically active and seemed to refer dialogue to something 'non-imaginative'. In reference to Dewey, the pupils associated the drama lessons with their body-mind but talking was associated only with the mind (1958).

In the preparatory meeting with the teachers (21-01-13), several of them expressed an interest in combining drama with other subjects in cross-subject teaching. However, as the project started, only four teachers were prepared to negotiate their timetables. As I met teachers in the staff room during breaks, several of them referred to the difficulties of finding the time for planning of lessons as a main hindrance for engaging in the project (29-10-13). Finding time for the drama team to meet and plan together was an issue throughout the whole project. Fleming

points out that framework is not free from assumptions about learning and drama and even if planning is a practical matter, it gives rise to theoretical considerations and questions of priority and value (2011, p. 44).

I realized at an early stage that my intention to organize meetings with teachers and drama pedagogues to discuss theoretical and practical perspectives would not be possible due to their working situations. During fall 2013, obstacles related to planning of drama lessons in Grade Four increased. Cristian found it hard to implement drama in his class, and Ingrid was not satisfied with the organization and lack of collaborative planning. The pupils in fourth grade were engaged and eager to have drama, but the lessons were chaotic according to Christian and Ingrid, who were concerned how to proceed. During a meeting with the drama team, the question of whether it was possible to continue to work with drama in Grade Four at all, was asked by Christian (Field notes, 29-10-13). A dilemma was that once the pupils reach Grade Four, there are more teachers involved and higher demands on assessments than with the younger children. Although Christian was engaged in the project, he was stressed about "taking time from other subjects", since there were several teachers involved in teaching in fourth grade (Field notes, 29-10-13). The study shows that the tensions in relation to syllabus and a pressure felt by the teachers that drama is not a mandatory subject, is part of the 'regime of truth' in schooling and current rationalistic epistemology (Foucault, 1980, Biesta, 2011). As Fleming points out, a common reaction from teachers who attempt to teach drama, but experience difficulties, is that they are put off and perceive it as too difficult (2011). The disciplinary nature of time, with its concern for timetables, particular actions and repetition (Foucault, 1977), eliminates the organic rhythm in creative work (Dewey, 1934). The timetable created tensions in the Grade Four class and was evident at the organizational level as well as the practical level.

The 'regime of truth' in the schooling habitat affects the practice at all levels, as lack of time for preparation and collaborative reflections by the teacher and the drama pedagogue, the pressure of timetables and pupils' response to the open space in the drama room and their energetic bodies caused tension and disequilibrium in the situation. Ingrid struggled to establish the drama practice at the border of schooling and the ecotone, and how to create a structure during lessons.

This included how to find a balance in giving the pupils' agency as they expected 'theatre', but without "leaving them to their own device" (Fleming, 2011, p. 65). O'Neill stresses that the teacher should not manipulate pupils, but "without the teacher to challenge and extend their ideas it is difficult for children to achieve new insights through drama" (2006, p. 51). However, questions of how to develop processing of *the content* of the actual drama process were not within reach at this point. This phase of the project was characterized by negotiating the discursive order and questions of power, in reference to what should be prioritized (Foucault, 1980). For a leader to challenge the pupils in terms of content and aesthetic progression, trust, structure, and a content that engages the pupils must be established (O'Neill, 2006). Ingrid describes one of her first meetings with a group of pupils in Grade Four (email, 10-10-13):

> Chaos from start to finish, and I became someone I do not want to be at all. Nagging and silly. Yuk. Anxiety and failure. When the last child leaves the room, I realize that the guilt is mine. I failed to capture their interest. It's not the kids [who are] wrong. Although that is the first primitive thought – the feeling and the reaction that I experienced in the moment. But it's not their fault. In this group, my quiet start of the lesson became a pure disaster – an avalanche of turmoil began to roll, and when it started, it did not stop at all.

Ingrid's feelings changed from the first spontaneous blaming of the pupils into an understanding that the conditions to establish engagement and 'belief' were really not there. She describes that it became clear to her, that some of the pupils had certain expectations as they entered the room, as they were asking "when can we put on costumes?" (email, 10-10-13). Fleming highlights, that when the teaching is not working, it is important to question the techniques used rather than judge the group of pupils (2011). With reference to acknowledging progression in drama work, it became crucial to find a common ground where Christian and Ingrid could start and then gradually create a structure that worked for them and for the pupils. Ingrid was aware that the pupils were unaccustomed to working with process drama and searched for ways to build a stable ground for the continuous work. This meant, for example, that they stayed in the classroom and interacted mostly on a verbal level. However, it caused some disappointment by some of the pupils who in interviews expressed frustration, as the lessons did not allow them to "do theatre" (12-12-13).

Mergime: I don't want to sit at my desk just talking. It's boring. I want more drama.
Anneli: Why do you think Ingrid chose this way of working?
Laura: Because some people can't behave.
Anneli: How would you like to work in drama class?
Dodoma: When we get to decide things.

When Dodoma said, "get to decide things", I understood by the conversation that an important component was the possibility for improvisation within the process drama in which the pupils could follow their own ideas. In a discussion with Christian, Ingrid and the principal, he concluded it was important to continue with drama practice in fourth grade despite the challenges, and decided to support them with extra planning time. Ingrid's planning of lessons reflected the need to acknowledge what actually occurred in the room among the pupils. Ingrid pointed out the importance she and Christian were able to "create the right circumstances", for example, not to offer the pupils "a sea of choices", since it caused too much turmoil. Rather the assignments should focus on clarity and be relevant for as many pupils as possible in the group (email 18-10-13). When the extra support by the principal was implemented, Ingrid developed the use of teacher-in-role, sometimes in interaction with Christian as teacher-in-role, which truly engaged and motivated the pupils. Even though some of the pupils, for example, Mergime, still thought they should be allowed to do "more theatre", Ingrid and Christian describe a progress in which "the pupils started to build a common source of reference" (email, 18-10-13), which gave the class a necessary frame in which they could be creative and the practice could develop.

4.4 The physical context in the drama practice

The teachers considered it to be difficult or even impossible to teach drama with the whole class (4.1), and this was related to their experience of having lessons in the drama room to which they expressed mixed feelings. The drama room at Dalhem School was quite big, with black floor and curtains around the room, a few chairs and a soft, circular red carpet. The red carpet was used to sit on sometimes instead of sitting on the chairs in order to create an intimate atmosphere and sometimes used as prop in process dramas. Fleming points out that "drama can take place anywhere" but "the range of work which is possible can be constrained by the available space" (2011, p. 57). As the project started, the four teachers were scheduled to use the drama room

every week. The room was viewed as a resource by the drama team, but during the first semester of the project, it became related to turmoil and carnival play (Chapters 2 & 4). This caused many discussions and displayed the need to understand what happens as one moves from a classroom to a drama room. This thesis suggests that when moving from the schooling habitat into the ecotone habitat, there is an invitation to reconsider an aesthetic habitus. The structure of a lesson, relations, power, the physical space and the possibilities to express oneself imaginatively and corporally are different in the schooling habitat and in the ecotone. As Bourdieu points out, habitus does not only concern social structure, language or 'the mind', but also, to a high degree, the practicalities of the body, and as expressions of the body are ambiguous, the polysemy of actions has the potential to change the ontological status (Bourdieu, 1977).

Fleming points out that "large open spaces are often associated with very active movement and may create the wrong type of atmosphere for drama" (2011, p. 57) which is clear to anyone who tried to teach drama in a gym. In a meeting (03-10-13), the drama team was concerned about the difficulties they faced in continuing with the lessons in the drama room in fourth grade, as commotion occurred as soon as they entered the room. This especially concerned the pupils with special needs, as drama seemed to be a big challenge for them. During this time, Ingrid describes in an email the excitement that some of the pupils express as they enter the classroom before going on to the drama room:

> There is always a concern before we start, and it is about WHEN DO WE GO? [to the drama room]. Can we start now!!! For the children, drama is to do scenes – that's what their associations look like (…). I think there is a curse on the drama room – it's open and big and has associations about what to do inside it. And it opens up the opportunity to spread around in a different way than in the classroom. It is freedom but with a responsibility that is necessary for drama practice, and they are not really used to managing that, I think. (email, 05-10-13)

Ingrid describes pupils' assumptions, expectations and perceptions of drama lessons and what will take place in a drama room, which points to the importance of how to present the drama work to pupils and to listen to them. Further, it underscores the significance of apprehending pupils' expectations in order to respond to their expressions in a constructive way. Fleming states that "If ability in drama is seen as a developing skill or competence, then the level of attainment

of the class is a significant factor in planning" (2011, p. 58). And Ingrid's reflection indicates that "freedom with responsibility" relates to progress in agency which must be understood and addressed by the drama practitioner. Malak, a boy in fourth grade comments (Interview 12-12-13) that it is a good solution to split their class in two, whereby one group stays in the classroom during drama practice. Otherwise, there are too much "slams" (a dialectal word recurrently used by some of the pupils in all classes, when they describe commotion during the drama lessons). I asked why he thought there were too much "slams", and Malak answered:

> When there are many children together, they are all talking… at first, you play in your group, but then you see someone else, you go there and start to talk, and then you start to run around and play. (Interview 12-12-13)

Malak, who expressed engagement and appreciation of the drama lessons, describes the difficulty to focus and concentrate on the assignment in the drama room from a pupil's perspective. As Ingrid's growing understanding of drama practice in the context of compulsory school and the collaboration with Christian developed, a more flexible practice and use of the drama room was initiated. Drama as ecotone, an 'un-cultivated' area which caused some confusion for the drama team as well as for the pupils, became clearer, including a growing understanding of the ecotone as a habitat with unique features, asking for a different approach than in schooling. Eventually, Ingrid and Christian found solutions by combining the use of the classroom and the drama room and bit by bit, they found a structure that the pupils also found satisfying. The initial challenges in fourth grade was not related to reluctant pupils, but rather to what Fleming describes as "some behaviour problems that arise do so because of positive, over-exuberant attitudes combined with poor lesson structures" (Fleming, 2011, p. 59).

In Grade Two, the transfer from the classroom to the drama room itself became an issue. There was turmoil during the walk to the drama room and when arriving there, pupils often started to run in circles and chase each other in the open space. Repeatedly, the pupils hid behind the curtains instead of listening to instructions, and there were often conflicts regarding the chairs, as some pupils wanted to use them as props. Anna and Rachel struggled to organize the walk from the classroom to the drama room without using disciplinary power and devolving into

reprimands (Foucault, 1980; Neelands, 1984). Eventually, they found that giving instructions about how the drama lesson would start in the classroom, combined with making the walk from the classroom to the drama room a game or part of a process drama, changed the 'transport' from an issue to something interesting and exciting. As Neelands points out, the group often needs to be *led* into the action *by* the teacher, which is less personally demanding and threatening. Further, when the teacher herself indicates that the group is moving into drama-time by taking on a role, it will help the pupils to assume and recognize *their* imagined roles (Neelands, 1984).

Initially, all the teachers claimed it was necessary to divide their classes into two groups in order to go through with drama lessons in the drama room. This meant a re-organization that influenced all other teachers and timetables, as a second teacher was required to stay with the other group while the first group were in drama. The teachers' standpoints were quite fixed, and this issue raised some questions about how to move forward with the project. The drama pedagogues and I suggested a more flexible approach where drama also could be carried out in the classroom as well as in the drama room, and that the class did not always need to be split in two. The purpose of our arguments was for the teachers to question assumptions of drama practice. We also wanted to implement a view which meant that drama practice could be continued after the project ended. This issue remained a point of discussion during the fall 2013. Interviews with teachers describe their perspective, for example when Grade 4 teacher Christian states:

> When we get to the drama room, one has to calm them down... and then there will be a lot of energy... what happens for me, is that there will be an energy attack, only because I know that when we get there, I have to become even more like a policeman... at the same time, I know what the pupils are concerned with. It makes me feel... I feel it's giving me more irritation to shift rooms. (12-12-13)

Dewey discusses "the organization of energies" (1934) and the need for rhythm between movement and rest and argues for the importance of not separating the work process of art from the art product. Being able to argue for the need to acknowledge the process in drama requires an understanding of what it means to move from schooling to the ecotone, which in turn is to question the current educational discourse. Anna and Rachel made the walk from the classroom

to the drama room a rhythm of energy for the Grade Two pupils. This tool could have been used in Grade Four, but was overlooked, perhaps having been viewed as childish due to the pupils' age. The step into fiction seems to be viewed by teachers to be longer, the older the pupils are. Drawn from Dewey, perception is at the core of an aesthetic experience, and the interaction between process and product creates the experience. Related to drama, there is a need to take into consideration all the stimuli (space, group constellation, props, music, time of day, structure of lesson, and so on) to understand the outcome of the practice and the expressions of carnival play. When asked to sum up their work during fall, first grade teacher Betty states in an interview that children are constantly making physical contact while sitting on the red carpet and therefore there is an advantage to having them sit in chairs (23-01-14):

> The structure is good. You cannot deny that sitting in chairs is very good, and that's a security. One doesn't have to hang on to someone else. They have their place in just the right distance from each other, and no one needs to worry. … they see each other, and they get the chance to express themselves in their turn.

An implicit reason for avoiding what teachers described as 'chaos' was to go through with 'successful' drama lessons, meaning a wish to keep the same kind of order in drama lessons as in the classroom. This displays the tension at the border of schooling and ecotone and concerns progression in drama, which strives for open-ended processes and is inclined to risk-taking (Fleming, 2011; Rasmussen, 2001). The disposition for risk-taking differed between participants and changed over time. As the project proceeded, the drama team continued by sometimes being in the classroom and sometimes in the drama room, depending on their planning and the content of the drama lessons. A more flexible view on drama practice was growing among school staff and drama pedagogues. The tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone impelled reflexive thinking and practice, and describe a development of diversity in the approach to drama and to teaching in general.

Teachers in Grades One, Two, and Four seldom used costumes and props because, in their previous experience, it took too much focus away from the content in drama lessons. Drawn from Fleming, this is a common and historical conception – that drama practice tends to place less

emphasis on external factors due to an objective that supports pupils' imaginative capacity (2011). There were some successful and some less successful use of props in the project. During an observation in Grade Two, the pupils were assigned to show a scene in pairs. Anna spontaneously brought some props from the closet and offered them to the pupils to use if they wanted to. All the pupils chose to use the props, which then completely dominated their scenes, made themselves uncomfortable, and made the scenes incomprehensible. It presented an example of the effect props have if not carefully introduced and motivated. A prop can be important even though the pupils are not allowed to use them. Ingrid utilized a storytelling stool when working with stories in Grade One. The stool, which is covered in red velvet, has a lid and small compartments where she stored props related to the stories. The children constantly wanted to use the stool and look inside, and it supported Ingrid's objective to engage the pupils' imagination. She writes in an email (30-09-13):

> Some of them cannot keep their fingers away from my stool where I hide things that I can easily pick up when they are needed! I love my stool, and the kids know it hides magic things…

The recurrent use of the storytelling stool supported Ingrid's aim to create expectation, curiosity and focus among the pupils in Grade One. She made a point of saying that the stool was hers and was magic and not a common item for others to play around with. During the turbulent start of the project in Grade Two, Anna and Rachel agreed to risk-taking and open-ended work which resulted in a series of fruitful lessons working with "The Abandoned House" (Rachel, email 19-11-13). Nevertheless, Rachel said in a meeting with the drama team (29-10-13) that she was hesitant about following through with her idea due to the risk of too much turmoil, which meant that some of the pupils did not feel safe. However, Rachel carried out the creation of "The abandoned house" in the drama room with screens, chairs and fabric. This would not have been possible to do in the classroom and took a lot of time and preparation, but the pupils were fascinated and enthralled by it, which stimulated their verbal and writing engagement.

David's drama teaching in Grade Three can be described as theatre-oriented but aimed at learning across the curriculum. While the rest of the team explored process drama, David's drama teaching

moved from playing and exercises into working with scripts, theatre and performance for an outside audience (other pupils and parents). David's approach can be related to a traditional approach to mimesis, understood as imitation (Rasmussen, 2001), and referred to what Fleming describes as 'naturalistic' (2011). This is the natural way of approach if not having the opportunity for further training in drama. When working with a Stone Age Play, David involved the *sloyd* (crafts) teacher in creating costumes for the play. He also took his pupils to the "school forest" (a small forest behind the school) to collect branches and other material from which they created props for the play. I interviewed the pupils in third grade in pairs, and they often referred to "dressing up" and "doing theatre" in the interviews. Their reflections differed from the pupils in the other groups, as their drama experience was different. In the interviews I asked the pupils what is the first thing that comes to their minds when they think about drama. Edna**,** says, "playing and having fun", then they both start to talk about theatre and being nervous about remembering lines (10-12-13).

In the interview (10-12-13), Edna and Sam talk about what they like best about drama:

> Edna: Dress up and have fun.
> Sam: Same.
> Anneli: Is it always fun with drama?
> Edna: Yes.
> Sam: Yes.
> Anneli: Is it never boring or difficult?
> Edna: Sometimes it can be difficult, but it is not hard or anything.
> Sam: No.
> Anneli: What can be a bit difficult then?
> Edna: When we do theatre and to remember what to say.
> Sam: Yes.

In third grade, the pupils who were interviewed describe their drama experience as related to "dressing up" and "doing theatre". David invited me to read the script of the Stone Age Play and asked me how to approach the fact that there were many pupils on stage at the same time. I encouraged him to think about how to create opportunities for physical action and not solely rely on lines. He told me afterwards that he had thought through the whole manuscript from a

physical perspective, which solved dramaturgical problems and engaged more pupils in the work. In interview David (22-05-14) stated:

> I have to say that what is so good is that I can observe… I'm not the one in action … then I can discover things very clearly … get things confirmed, so it's really good. And then you [Anneli] write things down, and I can see that we noticed the same things.

Drawn from Fleming, the traditional characteristics of theatre-oriented work is teacher/director-centred, focusing on the 'product', while, in contrast, drama-oriented practice focuses on the process and on personal growth (2011). Our collaboration, initiated by David, started by him asking me questions concerning their play and then developed into a more reflective dialogue about, for example, how to support pupils' self-confidence or the fact that pupils often want to have a similar role in every play, whether it be a dog, a baby or a king, and how he as the facilitator could encourage them to try out new roles. Even though David did not work with a drama pedagogue, participating in the project did initiate reflections of a wider range of aspects of his teaching.

In fourth grade, Ingrid explored different tools to 'organize energy' (Dewey, 1934), by working with the process drama, "A Mysterious Man", in which the pupils used a few costumes and props. At the closure of the work, Ingrid asked the pupils to do freeze frames and photographed them. The pupils appreciated the possibility to wear costumes and to "do theatre" as they previously complained they did not get enough of that. Once the pupils performed their scenes with lines, she then asked them to do it again without words to which she added music. Ingrid described in an email (15-02-14):

> The children first showed their scenes with words and then they had to re-do them, but then I started moody music and asked them not to talk, and the children wanted the light to be more subdued. When I turned on the music, one boy said, "Oh, this is the perfect mood!" It was good to do the scenes twice – they had the opportunity to rehearse again and improve the flaws. And as the audience watched it, although without words, they still knew what it was all about. The theatrical effects were clear to the children. One could see how they went deeper into the characters the second time.

The example describes a lesson in which Ingrid responded to the pupils' request for more drama. An engaging story, the lesson structure, lines, costumes and being photographed, supported the pupils' engagement which also gained the social coherence in the group and trust for Ingrid. The structure that Ingrid and Christian developed in the process drama practice simultaneously meant flexibility in how they used different spaces and resources. During my last interview with Christian (22-5-14), I asked if he could have imagined it possible at the beginning of the project to work as flexibly as they currently did, and he said "absolutely not". The pupils' statements regarding the drama room were quite consistent throughout the project; for them the drama room was related to something exciting. On behalf of the teachers, their view changed starting out from the assumption that drama lessons should be conducted in the drama room, with the class divided in two groups. During the second semester they started to use the drama room in a flexible way and considered it possible to teach drama with the whole class at the same time. The tensions at the border of schooling and the ecotone, resulted in a growing awareness of drama as a practice that questions a rationalistic discourse.

Pupils' desire to be active

The concept of carnival play illuminates certain characteristic and specific features in drama, that concern the body. It highlights children's need for physical activities and movement, and displays the most obvious tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone. By utilizing the concept of body-mind in which the "organic body occupies a distinctive position in the hierarchy of being" children's need to be physically active is illuminated (Dewey, 1958, p. 249). As aesthetic experiences are measures of life, and as such, they are not possible to part from corporal sensations (Dewey, 1934) but they can differ from struggling to sit still at a desk or being allowed to move around in a drama room. As the body is a key component in drama, it is also the instrument through which thinking, feeling, imagination and relations are expressed and communicated. The pupils at Dalhem School illuminate this perspective, as, in all grades, they expressed the importance of being able to be physically active during drama lessons. As described, Franks (2015) claims that even though the body is a key component in the meaning-making of drama, the research, methodology, and analysis of embodied work in drama "remain

ripe for development" (p. 312). This includes how analyses often remain undeveloped and restricted to statements about the importance of body language and such. I also agree with Franks, as it is a perspective yet to be interrogated in a more comprehensive way.

In interviews with Grade One pupils (09-12-13) after they experienced drama lessons for one semester, the first thing that came to mind when they thought of drama was "having fun" or similar expressions. I interviewed Nina and Sebastian in Grade One and asked if there was anything not fun or problematic in drama, and Sebastian said, "When we are standing up talking" and Nina, searching to find words, started to wriggle on the chair saying, "It's just my body… that does… that it's boring sometimes… When I asked if she meant when having to sit still too long, she replied, "Yes, one wants to play". In another interview, Leyla answered, "I know we are going to have fun", and Benjamin said, "The same". As our dialogue continued, they told me about when they dramatized letters, and later in the interview, I asked them, what is best thing about drama?

> Benjamin: To play.
> Leyla: I don't like to sit still.
> Anneli: Do you sit still in drama lessons as well?
> Leyla: Yes.
> Anneli: Is it more fun when you are doing things?
> Leyla: To jump, to stand, to jump, and to have fun.
> Anneli: Is there anything difficult or boring about drama?
> Leyla: I know … sitting still.

The teachers in the project saw drama as a resource in terms of involving corporal expressions in the teaching, but also as their responsibility to learn schooling behaviour as, for example, waiting for one's turn, raising one's hand when one wants to speak, and to being able to sit still in one's seat concentrating on tasks. In interviews, Ingrid and Betty discussed how they wanted to proceed with their work in the coming semester. Betty expressed that she was content with the structure of working with process drama they developed, including sitting in chairs interacting with Ingrid as teacher-in-role.

> Betty: I find what we have done now is very good, to be able to follow a story to create and think about feelings and so on.
> Ingrid: I wish one could set them free a little in short moments and still get them back because now we keep them rather tight, but if one could have that as a small objective and still have the safe frame… that they can be trusted to do something by themselves (29-10-13).

Betty and Ingrid agreed to a way of working, but implicit in their collaboration were different perspectives and partly different objectives. As an experienced teacher who has developed structure and content for first grade pupils for many years, Betty expressed that she was content to keep working as they did so far. Ingrid expressed that she wanted to explore how to develop the drama work where the pupils would gain more agency and freedom to express themselves. As a class teacher, Betty's focus was to introduce the first-grade pupils to the school world. As a drama pedagogue Ingrid aimed to explore progression in the drama practice even though it included risk-taking in reference to keeping the 'order'. Betty's and Rachel's different perspectives describe the tension of how to view moving from schooling to the ecotone and raises the question whether pupils can understand that being in the ecotone area is different from being in the schooling area. Dixon points out that "children challenge teacher's spatial organizations and their accompanying behavioural norms as they recreate the space they are in" (Dixon, 2011, p. 53). By "letting them free in short moments" Ingrid suggested crossing the spatial borders they created, in order to support the pupils' creativity and agency.

Betty's and Ingrid's different experiences and competences displayed a need to negotiate and explore how the progression in the drama practice could be realized that would be relevant for first grade pupils. O'Neill points out that teachers may need to alter their teaching style gradually in order for pupils to understand the nature of drama practice and to develop a greater degree of responsibility for their own learning (1982). The lessons in first and second grade often were, as previously described, characterized by the pupils' desire for action and physical expressions and a resistance to sitting still and talking. Besides expressions of carnival play, it often had the nature of dramatic play, as the pupils had "little sense of the consequences of their actions" and "no sense of dramatic form" (Fleming, 2011, p. 85) and the pre-text for the process dramas did not

always engage the pupils sufficiently. Given that the drama team did not have much experience in process drama in the compulsory school context and little time for joint planning and reflection, the drama lessons sometimes lacked the structure Fleming describes as "working towards fulfilment" (Fleming, 2011, p. 76).

In order to introduce how to work with process drama in fourth grade, Ingrid and Christian stayed in the classroom and the pupils sat at their desks as teacher-in-role Ingrid interacted with the pupils one-by-one. In an interview (12-12-13), Mohammed said, "In the beginning, it was boring because we were not allowed to perform so much". In questionnaires filled out at the end of the project, all pupils in Grade Four except two wrote that when they think of drama and what is best about drama, they think of "acting", "being different characters", "creating scenes", "doing theatre", "performing" and "playing games". One open-ended sentence reads: "In drama lessons, I think one can learn…", and one girl wrote, "to show more what you do with body language. If I am going to show that I am drinking something, I have to show it with my body language". The pupils in Grade Four could naturally formulate in words how they experienced drama more clearly than the younger pupils. Recurrent comments concerned their desire to be active, have agency in the work and use their bodies.

Social interplay

As described in section 2.5, drama pedagogy in Sweden has put much focus on developing social relations and conflict-solving. The school staff at Dalhem School expressed similar expectations at the beginning of the project. However, the drama lessons put pupils and teachers in a new situation, and the open space in the drama room and the encouragement to spontaneity, to use imagination and improvise, caused many pupils to 'act out', which in turn resulted in conflicts. An objective by the drama team was that the pupils should accept that they must cooperate with all their classmates. Initially in second grade, comments like "I refuse to work with him" were common (Field notes, 13-09-13), and some pupils were overly keen to collaborate with the same classmate during every drama lesson. Fleming advocates taking group cohesion into account

when planning, and when group work is inhibited by protests, it may be advisable to reflect on one's approach to the groupings (2011).

Øksnes (2011) points out that a concern with carnival play is that it seems to build on individual freedom. Given that carnival play involves spontaneity and sometimes irrational behaviour and physical outbursts, it risks creating situations where some children get hurt, both emotionally or/and physically. A dilemma for the drama team, particularly in second grade, was how to support pupils in working with all of their classmates, yet also protect some of the children who did not appreciate the livelier expressions. It also concerned how to support the pupils who were attracted to carnival play in organizing their energy into something constructive in order to avoid what Fleming describes as avoiding situations where problematic approaches become the norm during drama class (2011). Late in the fall, I received an email where Anna informed me that two of the boys in her class, Richie and Abe, were not going to take part in the drama lesson the following week. I asked her to describe the situation, and she wrote (10-11-13):

> I think these two had so many chances. I see difficulties not only in the drama lessons but also in other lessons. They also express themselves 'don't want to/not going to'. I talked to their parents about this and also with the boys about what is going on this week. The idea is that maybe they should have the chance to long for something/miss something. Also, I thought about what I saw in the group last time and how these two boys generate insecurity, fear and caution among the other children. I want to see if this [their absence] makes any difference in the group.

I asked Anna if she asked Richie and Abe to give their thoughts, and she replied that she would ask them how they could come to an agreement on how to proceed in drama lessons. The process of how to approach and develop a drama contract shows that there are no magic solutions to challenges in drama practice. Fleming states that "if ability in drama is seen as a developing skill or competence, then the level of attainment of the class is a significant factor in planning (2011, p. 58). Anna saw it as part of the process that these two boys skipped drama lessons for a couple of weeks. Fleming advocates avoiding "un-productive post-mortem" by recriminating pupils after unproductive drama lessons since it seldom leads to constructive changes. He stresses the importance of retaining a positive attitude towards drama. This is particularly important because

a pupil's lack of engagement is sometimes the result of either over-ambitious or poorly planned lessons (Fleming, 2011, p. 59). This was understood by Anna and Rachel, but nevertheless something they struggled with. After a lesson that the boys did not attend, Rachel wrote (18-11-13):

> Richie and Abe did not join today, and I'm now trying to figure out if something was different. I believe the girls gained more space to speak. All the pupils took part in the activities. We were able to keep up with the task during the 25 minutes we worked, and there were no interruptions due to noise or negative comments. Anna is going to talk with Richie and Abe about drama class. I do not know what kind of agreement she is going to make with them, but the best is of course that they feel included in the agreement that is made. I am wondering if we should do more exercises with a focus on cooperation and confidence as well as reflections over the next two weeks, given the social climate.

Anna's initiative to let the two boys skip drama class for a couple of weeks was part of a negotiation process with them. It also helped investigate how to support progress in group cohesion and avoid negative norms in drama (Fleming, 2011). It was not seen as a reprimand by her but I do not know how it was perceived by the two boys. The measure can be viewed as Anna acknowledging drama/ecotone as a 'safe haven' in order to protect the pupils who felt intimidated by the two boys. It relates to the ecotone and the idea of protecting 'sensitive species', by which I mean the budding aesthetic expression by children who slowly start to explore their personal way of expressing themselves through drama. The 'sensitive species' in the 'ecotone' is related to the what Slade describes as "sincerity" (1995), which Bolton criticizes for having 'moral overtones' (1998), but nevertheless is an attempt to describe the fragile processes and expressions as children are being absorbed by the drama. It further relates to 'as if' and 'belief' (Fleming, 2011, O'Neill, 1995), which describes the nuances in this matter. Further, Anna's decision that Richie and Abe should miss drama lessons had the effect of moving between closeness and distance, which is a parameter in the process of meaning-making (Rasmussen, 2001). The pause gave Anna and Rachel, as well as the other pupils some perspective on the situation. Richie and Abe eventually took part in drama lessons again, and their engagement in drama increased as the project continued.

‘Learning in’ and ‘learning through’ drama

The concepts of ‘through drama’ and ‘in drama’ can be useful for analysing different approaches, and the distinction is useful for seeing how the different aims are approached. However, there is no clear distinction between them and, as Fleming argues, insight can result when they are allowed to merge (Fleming, 2012). In the preparatory meeting with the teachers, only two comments referred to “dramatize” as a possible objective for the project. During the first months of fall 2013, the drama pedagogues underscored the importance of establishing an accepting atmosphere and exploring what topics could interest the pupils and how to collaborate. As the drama practice progressed, more aspects of ‘in drama’ was investigated, such as, for example, the dramaturgy in the narrative of the process dramas, how to create good conditions for ‘belief’, and how to maintain pupils’ focus that is not based on obedience but rather on the pupils’ engagement (Fleming, 2011; Neelands, 1984; O’Neill, 1995). Rachel’s and Ingrid’s work at the culture centre, does not include following a curriculum. Therefore, the interests and wishes of the participants in theatre groups are a high priority; a prioritized perspective is ‘in drama’, rather than ‘through drama’. Engaging in the school project where the drama practice was expected to relate to curriculum highlighted new questions. On behalf of the teachers, their thinking was naturally characterized by how drama could be useful for their teaching and for the pupils’ learning. That said, the teachers also viewed drama as an aesthetic form of expression, important for its own sake, but they also acknowledged their own lack of education in drama and underlined the importance of collaborating with the drama pedagogues.

In the compulsory school context, like that of this project, drama is often used as a method for language teaching. Drawn from Fleming, an important aspect concerning learning through drama is the awareness of both the intentional aims as well as the contingent outcomes (Fleming, 2012). In order to notice contingent outcomes, the drama leader needs skill and experience. A teacher with little experience of learning in drama is likely to miss such expressions. Working together with the drama pedagogues gave the teachers the possibility to develop understanding and a terminology for what took place during drama lessons. Rachel describes in an email that:

> It was a febrile activity in the room the whole time. It was running and noises. But it was a creative chaos. Everybody knew what to do and why. (13-10-02)

It takes time to learn how to distinguish between 'destructive chaos' and 'creative chaos' in the drama classroom, and moreover, how to support pupils' agency and creativity without the lesson breaking down. As Fleming points out "when drama moves beyond dramatic play it needs to be *taught* as dramatic art form" (2012, p. 77, original italics). Regarding the first and second grades, learning through drama was viewed as a complementary aim to learning in drama. Given that participants in the drama team saw the drama teaching as an explorative project, the intentions were broad and tentative on behalf of teachers and drama pedagogues. Hence, openness to contingent outcomes was high, especially in Grades One and Two.

In Grade Three, David foremost employed theatre from a learning through perspective, for example, as relating to History. For the fourth grade teacher, Christian, learning through drama was also prioritized and focused on Swedish and History, partly because assessments and grading are more central at this stage. Christian expressed that he felt some "external pressure" since he was the only Grade Four teacher taking part in the project and that the drama lessons "took time" away from other teachers and their teaching. David's intention was also to support pupils' self-esteem when performing for an outside audience and can be referred to what Fleming describes as aiming for "learning through drama looking beyond the art form itself to outcomes that are extrinsic" (Fleming, 2012, p. 68). What David initiated can be described as naturalistic roleplay that aimed to imitate reality. The pupils were parted in groups of three, and the assignment was that the first pupil would tell the others something, for example, an event they experienced or a story. The second pupil in the group was meant to listen carefully and the third pupil was to be distracted and not listen. The purpose of the exercise was for everyone to experience how it felt not to be listened to. As I observed their roleplay, I noted that the pupils did not seem to be engaged. They hesitated to start the exercise, and when they did, there was either an oral or corporal engagement in their interplay. The important "motivational force" (Fleming, 2011, p. 33) did not evolve in this exercise, in my interpretation, because of its resemblance with a traditional understanding of mimesis. A developed understanding of mimesis related to today's educational, post-structural context was missing. For meaning-making to be possible, on behalf of the pupils,

construction and reconstruction are needed (Rasmussen, 2001). Given that the pupils did not get the opportunity to engage in a question or problem, and the outcome of the roleplay was already formulated, they resisted the task. Also, because David and his pupils mainly aimed at doing theatre, they were unaccustomed to improvisational exercises. In interviews with the pupils in Grade Three, the answers differed from the other pupils who did not focus on theatre as much but instead on process drama. David's pupils talked about theatre, getting dressed up, and how many lines they had in their performances (10-12-13):

> Anneli*:* What is the first that comes to your mind when you think about drama?
> Lily: To dress up and have fun.
> Kent: Me too.
> Anneli: Is it ever boring or difficult?
> Lily: Sometimes it can be difficult, but it's never hard or anything.
> Kent: No.
> Anneli: What can be difficult?
> Lily: If we are going to perform a theatre play and remember what to say.
> Kent: Yes.
> Anneli: Which one of your performances did you think was best?
> Lily: Stone age.
> Anneli: Why was that one the best?
> Lily: Fishing… and I got to talk a lot as well.
> Kent: Four words.
> Lily: I just had two.
> Anneli: Is it important to have lines?
> Lily: Yes, actually. It is. Otherwise, it's just like you just walk around and then they say [*referring to the audience*], "When does it start?"

Most of the pupils in third grade expressed that they appreciated the drama classes and the theatre performances they produced with David. During the project, they performed their play about the Stone Age, which was initiated by the pupils, and performed for parents for the first time. The Stone Age play was much appreciated; the parents were impressed, and the pupils were really happy about it. The difference in how pupils in third grade and the other classes perceived drama practice was clearly related to the drama *teaching* they received.

Relevant to problematizing for all drama practitioners are the dichotomies of inclusive/separatist and extrinsic/intrinsic, which Fleming relates to learning through and learning in drama (2012, p. 68). A hard version of learning through uses drama solely as a pedagogical method used to enhance learning in other subjects. In contrast, learning in drama focuses on the intrinsic content and is more concerned with drama for its own sake. Fleming advises that one should be aware of the distinctions when considering planning drama practice and not only view them as dichotomies but also recognize that they merge (2012), which can be part of progression for the practitioner and the pupils. In my analysis, David's employment of drama in his work is traditional learning through, as his practice was clearly related to, for example, history. But from his pupils' statements, there are benefits gained which can be referred to as learning in, for example, when some of them spoke of acting, learning lines, and personal growth. The interview ended with the pupils talking about what one can learn from performing in a theatre play:

> Lily: One dares to show … gain a little more courage … one dares to show it [performance] to people.
> Kent: In the beginning, I didn't dare to do that.

As David gradually invited me to take a more collaborative role in his drama teaching, it became clear to me that, to further train in teaching drama, it is important that teachers are met at the point where they are in their process of drama knowledge. At the end of the project, he expressed that he discovered things that was made clearer by our collaboration and "I see that we have noted just about the same things" (Field notes, 04-14-14). As our dialogue developed, his interest in progressing with the drama work increased.

4.5 Negotiating in Drama

The 'drama contract' is a term often used in drama practice in order to explain and invite participants to acknowledge an individual as well as a joint responsibility. It can also be seen in the wider context related to compulsory school and mandatory drama lessons. After all, drama requires other kinds of commitment than in other subjects, for example, emotional engagement, creativity, imagination combined with embodied expressions. Drawn from Owens and Barber, the

drama contract implies a process "when the leader and the group together decide in doing something with joint reciprocal and binding rules" (2006, p. 10).

In a meeting with the drama team, the two drama pedagogues reflected on the fact that they were about to teach drama in a mandatory context (29-10-13). They felt it was a dilemma, as a drama contract traditionally implies that participants can choose to stand aside at any time, which is problematic in practical terms, in a mandatory setting. The drama team agreed that if the situation would occur, it was important not to force the pupils to engage against their will. On the other hand, it would be problematic to tell the children that they at any point could stop their participation. There was also the risk of children influencing each other to not participate. The drama team agreed to explore how to create reciprocity in the joint work and approach the drama contract. The drama team continuously reflected on how to frame the drama lessons, how to invite the pupils and communicate so that they all would feel included and engaged. However, the need for a joint thoughtful strategy was increasing. In an email, Rachel commented on an event during a drama lesson when some of the pupils reacted negatively when Rachel introduced the lesson for the day and Anna stopped the lesson, reprimanded the pupils and urged them to listen to Rachel (03-10-13).

> I understand why one would talk like that, and it is something that everyone encounters in life. You should listen to people who have an idea about an activity in which you are a participant. However, it is not for my sake that the children should listen to me. It is for their sake, and for the sake of the drama, because that is when it becomes fun.

As part of this ongoing dialogue we discussed different approaches: The first was to see *pupils* as not concentrating and engaged, and the other was to reflect on how the *leaders* could develop the drama practice to engage the pupils. Later in the same correspondence, Rachel commented on the leaders' responsibility and wrote in her reflection after a drama lesson (Numbering the pupils was due to ethical considerations in emails): "Child 16 had low inner motivation. The assignment was not interesting enough." I suggested looking at a YouTube clip where a teacher who works with process drama uses a signal for the children to know when the drama begins. The teacher and children hold hands and jump a small jump together while saying "…going to

storyland". I encouraged the team to explore if making up a "play signal" could support their communication with the pupils and clarify the drama process for the children. Anna and Rachel decided to introduce the 'imagination button'. When either of them had given instructions and the drama was about to start, they would ask the class to simultaneously push their imagination button, which was placed anywhere on the body that the individual child chose, and meant entering the fictive dimension. Rachel introduced a process drama with a pirate theme in which the class receives a letter from a pirate who lived a long time ago. Rachel writes to me (28-09-13):

> Several children had figured out (of course!) that I wrote the letter. Some thought it was strange that we would talk about the letter as if it had been written by someone unknown in the past, as that was not the truth. I was prepared for this, but did not prepare any perfect answer for it. I said, "Today we will practice using our imagination", and Anna encouraged the children to press their imagination buttons. And that was a brilliant solution! We should continue to do this because it worked.

A week later, Rachel wrote to me: "Today, the children took the initiative to push the imagination button." Initially, and especially for some of the pupils, the imagination button was helpful to understand the dimension of 'belief' in the different phases in the drama lesson. It involved moving from 'reality', where they sat and talked about the story and received instructions to moving into the drama and their imaginations together. In first grade, Ingrid also introduced the imagination button, and she wrote (03-10-13):

> The kids quickly and easily found a ritual to go into imagination, and I liked doing it. It created some magic in the room in some way. I should have done that a long time ago!

Two months later, Rachel and Anna found that the practice of using the button in second grade changed: Some of the children expressed that the "imagination button was childish", that "it was broken", someone had numerous buttons that had to be pushed, and sometimes the story was so engaging that the drama started without the button, which was alright. Rachel and Anna discussed in our correspondence whether it was meaningful to insist on pushing the button during every drama lesson. After a disorganized lesson, Anna wrote (27-10-13):

> We did not manage to include all the children. [There was] lots of trouble with broken buttons, and one boy insisted that his button was turned off, etc .... as an afterthought,

> it was probably already going wrong here. The children were not on board with us (*med på tåget* in Swedish). It worked better in the blue group. Also talked with Anneli about this: what do you do when not everyone is on board?

The process with the imagination button reveals that there are no perfect methods or tools, as the drama practice is 'alive', which demands that leaders continuously reflect on what the next step in the work might be. Anna and Rachel continued to explore how to include all pupils by finding themes and stories that would engage them enough to be engaged and concentrated. Most of the time the work proceeded in a fruitful way, but occasionally, a few pupils were involved in conflicts during drama class.

Drama and pupils with special needs

At the preparatory meeting with School staff (21-01-13), the teachers raised questions concerning drama practice and pupils with special needs. In Sweden, the teachers who are educated to focus on pupils' special needs are labelled 'special pedagogues', and compulsory schools are required to employ teachers with this function. The teachers at Dalhem School were instructed by special pedagogues to structure their teaching in a clear and consistent manner in order to support pupils with special needs. This particularly concerned second grade, but also fourth grade, as there were pupils in that grade with diagnoses or in the process of being diagnosed. During the project, one pupil started her medication which brought forward certain challenges for teachers and drama pedagogues regarding how to support this pupil yet keep up the explorative process of the drama lessons (Interview 10-12-13):

> Anna: Talking to BUP and special pedagogues, it is always the case – clear structure, timely frames, a square approach… it's worse for them [the pupils with special needs] as we enter the drama room and there are no desks. … We are told that lessons should be… square, but drama is… circular. How can one combine squareness and the circular drama?[14]

Anna and Rachel worked intensely to find a structure for the drama lessons that would support pupils with special needs, without limiting drama and restraining pupils who were able and ready

[14] BUP – Children and Youth Psychiatry

to take further steps in drama. In November (15-11-13), Rachel wrote an email describing how she negotiated a situation with a boy who had difficulties concentrating:

> I remember one more thing Adnan said: "We can do something so it works." And then we agreed on a sign we could give him when we noticed he is about to get "mad" [Adnan's choice of word], and he was totally fine with that.

Given that this boy showed his engagement in drama in so many ways, he was motivated to negotiate with Rachel in finding ways "so it worked". Rachel's initiative is an example of taking the pupils' needs seriously without capitulating to the challenges. In fourth grade, Ingrid reflected on whether drama could even be harmful for some children, at least when it comes to the limited circumstances to which drama is often followed through in compulsory school (email 02-10-13):

> It's so frustrating to delve into the world of school for a short moment, once a week – how can I reach the children? For example, when it comes to a serious anxiety some of the children show, drama or even dramatic play may not be the recipe to approach it. Maybe their anxiety must be met with something completely different before it is even possible to think the word 'drama'. Several of these children have diagnoses – is drama the right method for these children? I certainly think so, but the difficulty arises when they have drama lessons with the other children who also have their needs, and I'm the only adult in all this.

In an interview, Ingrid refers to the differences in her work at Dalhem School compared to her work at the culture centre and describes how her work changed, for example, by the need for an explicit evaluation after every lesson:

> Okay, I have to change this. It did not work at all as I had pictured it in my head. Now this may sound like I'm being totally spineless, [as] sometimes one needs to follow an idea through, of course. But I think I am following the right track, saying that I have to modify, not change strategy, but make small modifications all the time. (10-12-13)

Ingrid describes that she must constantly be aware of the difference of working at the culture centre and in school, especially regarding to what motivates the pupils and note what the pupils are interested in and build on that. Based in my own experience working in compulsory school, there are always a few pupils who do not like drama. It is often related to a certain period of time and often associated with conflicts in the group or a pupil's private situation, but can change as the

troubles are solved. Pupils not liking some activities in school happens with all subjects, and drama is no exception. In connection with the pupils in Grade Four answering the questionnaires (20-05-14), I spoke with some of them during a break. One of the boys, Robert, sat by himself, and I started a conversation with him. He stated that he does not like drama and when I asked why, he said, "I don't like when its theatre and those kind of things ... I just don't like it". I asked if he would prefer not to have drama lessons next semester, but he said "everyone else in my class likes it, so then I can accept that we are having drama" (Field notes, 20-05-14). In a video-recorded sequence when his classmates perform scenes in the classroom, I observed him, and he attentively watched their performances. Some pupils would rather simply observe drama than take an active part, which is important for drama leaders to be aware of.

As O'Neill acknowledges, leadership in drama "places enormous demands on the teacher" and the conditions for fruitful work are rather to succeed as a co-player than as a "facilitator or manipulator" (in Taylor & Warner, 2006, p. 141). This includes being attentive to all pupils in the group and making sure that pupils who find drama a bit intimidating feel safe. However, drawn from Fleming, it is important that teachers are not put off using drama due to demanding techniques, such as teacher-in-role and whole group improvisation, which is popular in drama literature and the education field. Adopting more conventional teaching stances can therefore serve as part of a learning process in drama (2011). On the other hand, Berggraf Sæbø describes how reproducing drama work may result in low-quality drama teaching and creates "problem pupils" (2009, p. 194, 195).

4.6 Improvisation and power

Drawn from Foucault, power must "be analysed as something which circulates" and "exercised through activity and present in all relations" (1980, p. 98). From this starting point, I will analyse the videotaped sequence of a drama lesson where two 8-year-old pupils and a teacher worked with an improvised scene and performed it for their classmates. The analysis details the negotiating of power while the pupils, Tarek, Miriam, and the teacher, Maud, performed their scene for their classmates. The lesson was led by Anna, their class teacher. I observed the lesson

and video-taped parts of it. The sequence is analysed from a power perspective, and I employ Kress' and Van Leeuwen's strata as an analytical tool: 1) multimodal discourse, 2) design, 3) production, and 4) distribution (2001).

During this period of approximately three weeks, the drama pedagogues were not present at the school. This caused Anna to feel somewhat insecure about how to facilitate the drama lessons. It also meant that she could not part the class into two groups, but instead, had to teach the whole group at the same time. Therefore, another teacher who normally did not participate in drama class, Maud, also attended the class to support Anna. Maud did not take part in the project, but I spoke to her several times in the staff room and also observed some lessons that she taught. She was interested in and supportive of the project. By the time Maud, Tarek, and Miriam were due to perform their scene, I asked again for their permission to video-tape the scene, to which they consented. Unfortunately, I did not have the opportunity to interview Maud after this lesson, but we had an informal dialogue, and she expressed her interest in what had occurred during the lesson and for drama as a tool for learning.

Foucault claims that power cannot be possessed by an institution or a person but is productive and moves around in the dynamic interaction between people (1980). Although power also operates in this way in a classroom among 8-year-olds, I am referring to how the relationship between the teacher and the pupils is always asymmetric. Given that the teacher is an adult and holds the legal authority, the terms cannot be entirely equal, and in that sense, a teacher has more access to power than the pupils. This also means that the teacher is responsible for what happens in the classroom and for the whole group of pupils to ensure that, for example, one pupil cannot hurt another pupil. But a teacher can choose to negotiate power by creating conditions for pupils' agency and by inviting them to express themselves with their opinions and ideas in creative processes.

The pupils were given an assignment to create a short scene on the theme of compromising, to a backdrop to the many conflicts and then perform the scene for their classmates. It was suggested the scenes could evolve around what friends do together. As part of the intended progression in

the drama practice, the teacher and drama pedagogue agreed that the pupils should work in different group constellations. This meant that the pupils were divided into groups and pairs with classmates they maybe would not choose if it were up to them. In this case, Tarek and Miriam were quite uncomfortable working together. There were several objectives within the lesson: to be able to collaborate with different classmates, to develop an idea, to use imagination, to dramatize a scene (beginning, middle, and end) and also perform it for their classmates. The pupils had approximately 15 minutes to prepare their scenes. The choice of theme was based on the idea that it would be something pupils could recognize and relate to – social interplay with friends and classmates.

'The Magic Pizza'

The groups of pupils found a space in the drama room to rehearse their scenes. Tarek and Miriam chose a corner of the room but found it difficult to collaborate. Maud precedes them in order to support them in their work. When the pupils perform their scene at the end of the lesson, Maud has taken, or been given, a part. The video-taped sequence shows Tarek and Maud seated on chairs next to each other and Miriam is standing to the side in the corner. Tarek sits in the middle. Before they begin, Anna asks what the title of their scene is (she asks all the groups). Tarek points to Miriam and says, "You answer", Miriam hesitates and then answers "The Magic Pizza". Tarek takes a leading role, and is the one who takes most of the initiative throughout the scene. Tarek holds his hands in front of him and moves his thumbs up and down while he looks ahead at a fixed point. Maud watches Tarek and then does the same. I understand they are playing a video game.

The 'multimodal discourse' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) is expressed through the choice of setting; playing a video game and ordering pizza, which was acted out foremost by body language. The choice of setting indicates that it is something the pupils experience in their everyday life or at least Tarek seemed familiar with the situation. The status of the characters is established as Tarek takes a leading role, and Maud and Miriam play subordinate parts. I did not observe or hear how they made the choice of setting, but I note that it is the boy playing the video game, making orders and the girl bringing the food. Maud comes through as a low status friend to Tarek, visiting

his house. It was not apparent if Miriam chose the title of 'The Magic Pizza' herself, or if they agreed on that beforehand, but the title indicates the possibility for a 'magic', non-naturalistic element (Fleming, 2011), which, however, did not evolve in the course of the event.

The scene started in a shaky way, the 'as if' mode (Owens & Barber, 2006), was not established, and their communication through body language and words displayed hesitation and shyness – hasty unarticulated movements, pauses and low voices, quickly delivered lines. Tarek and Miriam dealt with their insecurity differently. Tarek soon became energetic and took strong initiatives, while Miriam became passive waiting for Tarek's moves. Maud, unfamiliar with taking part in drama practice, searched for ways to support the two pupils. It seemed they had not been able to agree on a 'design' for the scene, that is, a concept for what exactly the content should be and how it should be expressed (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). It can also be interpreted as a common mistake made by teachers and pupils, thinking more in terms of 'narrative' (the basic outline of the scene) rather than 'plot' (the concrete means by which a scene is structured) (Fleming, 2011, p. 52). Given that the assignment was an improvisation with little time for preparation, it created insecurity but also conditions for spontaneity and space for negotiating power.

The acting starts and thereby the 'production' of the scene, is displayed (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001).

> Tarek: Haha, I scored a goal.
> Maud: Oh, I have no goals yet ... how many goals do you have?

Tarek ignores her and throws the imaginary game console to the side.

> Tarek: I'll buy pizza [*he turns back and reaches for an imaginary object from the wall that turns out to be a phone*].
> Maud: I'm hungry.
> Tarek: Yes, that's what I said. I'll buy pizza [*with an irritated tone*].
> Maud: Are you buying pizza today?

Tarek does not answer her comment.

Even though 'as if' has not been agreed upon, by using imaginary objects and entering a character, Tarek steps into the dramatic world. But he expresses resistance to Maud's attempt to become part of the scene, and Maud's character struggles to find an opening to their interplay. Instead, Tarek involves Miriam, who answers the phone at the pizzeria and receives the order. The 'production' of the scene, that is, the organisation and articulation of expressions through the drama medium (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001), shows how Tarek challenges the power of Maud and as the teacher is in-role, she cannot respond as a teacher. As an observer, I am aware of metaxis (Boal, 1995), that is, Tarek's approach to Maud within the 'fictive world' is at the same time a questioning of teacher authority in the 'real world'. As they improvise, Maud as the teacher cannot control the evolution of the scene, and, as she took on a character holding a lower status than Tarek's character, it is difficult for her to take initiatives. Short pauses occur when Maud and Miriam hesitate, while Tarek takes initiatives. Tarek holds the imaginary phone to his ear. Miriam responds and takes the call.

> Tarek: A kebab pizza [*he turns to Maud*].
> Tarek: What would you like to drink?

This is the first time he invites her to interact into reciprocity in telling the story.

> Maud: A large Coke.

Tarek turns to Miriam.

> Tarek: She wants a Co ... she wants a small Loka [sparkling mineral water].
> Miriam: No [*she says quietly and smiles*].

Tarek invites Maud to interact, but in the middle of a sentence, he changes his mind and rejects her wish to have a large Coke and orders a small mineral water instead. From a Foucauldian perspective, Tarek shows resistance to Maud, but Miriam also shows resistance to Tarek (by saying "no" to his order), displaying negotiations of power through the dramatic action. As Miriam engaged in the struggle of power, she resists Tarek's control of the scene for the first time by saying "no". The fragile 'as if' is broken, and she steps out of her role as pizza baker. Miriam rejects

Tarek's order to support Maud and question Tarek's exercising of power. Miriam's response can also be interpreted as governmentality, a self-control in order to adjust to preferred behaviour (Foucault, 1980). She is uncomfortable with Tarek's disrespectful approach towards Maud: pupils should show teachers respect, even in an imaginary situation.

Miriam delivers the pizza and takes a step back into the position in the corner. Tarek cuts the pizza and take a bite. He turns to Maud.

Tarek: Here's a little bit…
Maud: Oh, thank you! I am so hungry. I want a large pizza.

Finally, Tarek involves Maud in the fiction, but she does not settle with "a little bit of pizza". Instead of embracing the offer of the little bit of pizza Tarek gives her, Maud wants a large pizza. Miriam is standing to the side, passively. Tarek calls again and orders another pizza. This time, Miriam tries to sidestep Tarek by delivering the pizza directly to Maud, but she is not observant and does not receive it properly from Miriam. In contrast, Tarek is attentive and quickly grips the imaginary pizza from Miriam and eats it. Miriam makes a clear attempt to take the initiative, expressing an idea by giving the ordered pizza directly to Maud. But Tarek resists her by means of physical action. The intensity in the scene heightens as Maud turns to Tarek and snatches a bit of his pizza.

Maud: I will taste your pizza anyway!

Tarek immediately takes back the pizza with a quick movement of his hand. Miriam stands passively by the side, smiling, but it is an embarrassed smile. Tarek gets up from his chair and hesitates. He does not quite know what to do. Miriam sits down on Tarek's chair.

Tarek: What are you doing? [*with an angry voice*]

Tarek attempts a lunge at Miriam and pulls her up from the chair. Miriam laughs and accepts being pushed away. Maud is standing to the side with arms crossed looking at Tarek.

Tarek: We will act!

Miriam lifts straight arms out to the sides as she looks at us in the audience, definitely breaking the as-if and says, "End!" and lets her arms fall to her sides. Maud and Miriam leave the stage, and the audience applauds. Tarek sits still on the chair for a few seconds before he leaves.

The negotiation of power came to overshadow the narrative in this event, but at the same time, it produced a variety of interesting strands that could have been explored in a reflective dialogue. Drawn from O'Neill (1995), it is crucial that the assignments or problems presented to pupils in process drama are interesting and challenging. O'Neill claims that all too often the worlds that are generated in drama remain teacher-directed, one-dimensional and stereotypical, demanding little or no interrogation, elaboration or interpretation from the student. If the one-dimensional purpose of the task is too obvious to the pupils, there will be no creative challenge for them, which could lead to either the pupils obediently conforming to the task but without interest or commitment, or resisting the task in different ways (O'Neill, 2006). The analysis shows that the theme 'compromising' was not sufficiently structured and challenging for the pupils. The assignment was possibly too vague, which put a lot of responsibility on the pupils (Fleming, 2006).

The 'distribution' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) of a product concerns, in this case, how the scene is realized, performed and conveyed to the audience and also the audience reactions. An aspect of 'distribution' is the 'fidelity' of the product in relation to the artist's intentions. In this case, we do not know what took place in their preparatory collaborative process, but it is probable that the negotiation of power we witnessed stemmed from previous tensions between Tarek and Miriam that caused Maud to approach them in the first place. Due to the tensions during the performance, the rest of the group was very quiet and watched the scene carefully, and no one laughed, which is otherwise common. In my interpretation, the other pupils were caught by the negotiation of power between the players, the shift between fiction and reality, and curious about how the scene would end. Tarek's acting can be interpreted as a way of resisting a feeling of governmentality, and instead, trying to create a challenge for himself, Miriam and Maud. The possibility for Miriam to negotiate power and act out her ideas was limited both by her role in the

drama and by Tarek, who maintains a leading role throughout the scene. The tensions and negotiation of power in the performance could have created an opportunity to pause the action and invite dialogue. Inviting the pupils to 'perspectivating' and 'distancing' (Rasmussen, 2001) could have supported a meaning-making process.

The nature of drama practice creates space for pupils to explore features of power, and given that there are "no relations of power without resistance" (Foucault, 1980, p. 142) and given that power is present in all relations, there are plenty of opportunities for subversion during creative processes. Miriam is disturbed by Tarek's resistance to Maud, and by saying "no" to Tarek's action, she expresses both the desire to act according to social norms and an action that resists Tarek, thus expressing herself as subject. The situation could have offered an opportunity for a reflexive dialogue about 'what friends do together', for example, that friends do not always get along, but the opportunity for this does not present itself. And as O'Neill underlines, it requires skill to structure and lead reflexive dialogues, which make considerable demands on the teacher (O'Neill, 1982). Furthermore, power is always interlinked with knowledge, and conversely, knowledge always has an impact on power (Foucault, 1980).

The assignment encompassed naturalistic roleplay and offered a possibility to process everyday experiences (compromising) and making meaning out of them. But as Fleming points out, it is often more fruitful to use non-naturalistic techniques and conventions, as naturalistic roleplay tends to miss the complexity of meaning and ends up solely replicating real experience (Fleming, 2011). In the analysed sequence, there is also the risk of unstated expectations that the pupils would dramatize how a compromise was made, which may result in resistance from the pupils. There is a dilemma between, on the one hand, supporting pupils' creativity, agency, and meaning-making processes, but on the other, not offering them enough structure and 'role protection' (Owens & Barber, 2006).

Maud on her part, was not familiar with the previous drama practice in the group and held an exposed position as Anna, her colleague, and me as a researcher observed the unfolding event.

Additionally, her intention had been to support Tarek and Miriam in their process, but instead she got caught up in a negotiation of power in an in-between space of imagination and reality. Nevertheless, Tarek's and Miriam's actions can both be viewed as exploring themselves as subjects in this situation, as the performance seemed to be less important than their negotiation of power and agency (Biesta, 2011, Foucault, 1980).

4.7 A changed discourse

In the second interview at the end of the project (23-05-14), I asked the principal to evaluate and describe his perception of the project. He concluded that he saw the project as successful, especially in relation to the Swedish teaching, and he had good hopes for the teachers involved in the project to continue integrating drama in their teaching. But he also acknowledged the difficulties to develop the drama teaching, especially in Grade Four, as there are more teachers involved in the teaching in Grade Four and only one teacher participated in the project. Further, he described the difficulties in continuing to support drama as part of the teaching due to economic and practical circumstances. The drama teaching was dependent on the teachers participating in the project, and he stated that he could not force anyone to work with drama because some of the teachers "don't like it". Even though he personally considered drama important and the project as successful, what the principal expressed can be referred to as a rationalistic epistemology and a schooling discourse, in which drama is placed in the bottom of the hierarchy among school subjects (Rasmussen, 2001; Robinson, 2011).

The principal was receptive to the opinions of the participants in the project and generous with his own thoughts and reflections. His engagement and support were important to the implementation of the project and for my access to the field. The principal claimed he had given the participating teachers "total freedom" to implement drama in their teaching, but the teachers and drama pedagogues experienced that, despite the principal's support, resources in terms of time for planning and reflection were insufficient. Therefore, they claimed that the possibility to realize their ambitions did not amount to "total freedom". It is well known that in the context of compulsory school, the possibility for school development that builds on the teachers'

collaborative and reflective work is hard to realize due to a heavy workload and lack of time (Söderström in Rönnerman, 2012). The Grade Three teacher, Christian, described his situation during a meeting with the drama team (29-10-13):

> Now, this should not be a forum for my work situation, but ... it's thick ... when I scheduled all of my teaching time and meetings decided from above that I have to attend, I don't have any time left for planning.

The initial vision to officially announce Dalhem School as a school with an aesthetic profile was dismissed during the closing phase of the project. When I asked the principal if he believed drama practice would continue after the ending of the project, he describes the challenges of continuously having new pupils who are refugees, as some of them have little experience of attending school in the first place:

> We have gigantic dilemmas which will continue (…) some of the kids coming this fall, don't own one single language… they don't own Kurdish and they don't own Swedish.

Intertextuality concerns how the discourse builds on other communicative events. It can be reproduced and dominated by assumptions, or it can exhibit change by combining different perspectives and aspects of previous communicative events (Fairclough, 1992; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000). Certain words were repeated by the principal and the teachers: 'challenge', 'dilemma', 'workload' and 'lack of time'. The principal expressed his frustration at the many challenges at the school but is confident that the project has impacted the teaching. He refers to Anna in particular and the many concrete examples she described from second grade, where drama practice developed the teaching and the pupils showed signs of progression in several aspects.

The analysis shows that the intertextuality was high in the principal's statements and was not solely based on assumptions since he listened to his staff. His description of the drama practice was informed by what the teachers told him and by his own impressions when talking to pupils and reading the texts they wrote in relation to drama practice. Further, since participants stated they learned a great deal through the project, but also became aware of what it would take to

follow through to proclaim Dalhem School 'an aesthetic school', the intertextuality was high and the discourse changed among participants (Fairclough, 1992; Winther Jørgensen & Phillips, 2000). However, concerning the third layer in Fairclough's model (1992), social practice (the political and social discursive context), which serves to analyse whether the communicative events and discursive practice enforce and/or hide power relations or questions them, the discourse was not possible to change for the school staff.

Despite good intentions, engagement and hard work, the epistemological, practical and economic circumstances and discourses made the principal and the teachers conclude it would be very difficult for them to continue developing the drama practice at Dalhem School. The current educational rationalistic discourse does not support school development related to aesthetic subjects (Adams & Owens, 2016; Fleming, 2012; Piasecka, 2016;). The domination of rationality and schooling further relates to 'bio-politics', that is, the governmental practice aiming to rationalize societal dimensions, like education (Foucault, 1980, p. 317). Informed by Biesta (2011) and Foucault (1980), rationality and bio-power propose effective education with the means of producing productive citizens and workers, whereas aesthetics and arts obstruct this rationality and are too time-consuming.

The thesis suggests that implementing drama in the teaching at a primary school means that tensions will arise which derive from the differences in aims, contents and forms in schooling and ecotone. Interrogation of these tensions contributes to a widened understanding of drama in the primary school context and what kind of processes that are initiated as drama is implemented in the teaching. This chapter discusses the disequilibrium emerging as a result of the tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone and the possibilities for an edge-effect, that is pedagogical diversity, to evolve.

5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS: ECOTONE

The previous chapter investigated the tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone. In contrast, this chapter turns towards the emerging progress, where drama as a subject and pedagogical method becomes clearer. It implies new challenges that come with an increased awareness of pupils' creativity and that the ecotone can open up for other kinds of structures, experiences and possibilities. There *are* structure and objectives within the ecotone, but they are somewhat elusive and sometimes difficult to formulate and pin down. The research question in focus in this chapter is, *What kind of learning processes can be identified in drama practice, for pupils, and for teachers and drama pedagogues?* Using the notion of learning, I discuss phenomena in drama practice linked to the curriculum through mainly Swedish teaching, but also to what the teachers and drama pedagogues refer to as further training for themselves. Further, I address the question, *What kind of meaning-making evolves when pupils are allowed to express themselves through drama?* 'Meaning-making' here refers to aspects of the drama practice that are to a higher degree generated by pupils, in which they have the opportunity to process and express their interests and understanding.

5.1 Progression

The question of progression in the frame of this thesis is related to a shift – the movement from the schooling habitat to the ecotone. Schooling is defined by, and strives for, clarity. In a habitat which is *dominated* by the striving for rationality, efficiency and clarity, the risk for disciplinary power and an unquestioned regime of truth is high (Foucault, 1980). The ecotone is characterized by its diversity, and its order is intrinsic and may not be easily visualized and measurable. However, the importance of exploring and establishing structure within drama practice is crucial in order to create qualitative teaching (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Fleming, 2001; Taylor & Warner, 2006).

The shift from schooling to the ecotone encompasses a different use of space and time, and

encourages a holistic view of humans where body and mind are not separated (Dewey, 1934) and fiction, improvisation, and imagination are valuable resources. In the school project at Dalhem School, entering the ecotone was "*pirrigt*" (exciting and perturbing) according to pupils as well as the teachers and drama pedagogues because it is an area of the unknown. There was little time for collaborative meetings for the drama team at the school, but our joint email reflections served to describe and analyse the ongoing practice in which we discussed aspects related to the exploration of the ecotone and the emerging progression. The participating teachers hold a great deal of experience working in compulsory school and the drama pedagogues embrace a great deal of tacit knowledge (Gascoigne & Thornton, 2014) of the progression in drama. However, the encounter with a mandatory school context displayed the need to formulate this knowledge related to drama theory and to develop a common terminology in order to describe and analyse the joint work (Barber & Owens, 2006). This is a challenging task, because "attempts to apply the notion of progression to human learning, particularly in the arts, can be extremely bewildering" (Fleming, 2011, p. 140).

Progression within a rationalistic epistemology relates to cause and effect and seeks for efficiency to reach its goals (Biesta, 2011), a learning perspective described by Lindström as "convergent" (2009). The idea of an arable land as the example of schooling means it is expected to produce the exact crops which were sowed in the stipulated time. A holistic point of view relies on an organic process and presupposes that progression comprehends complexity which is not controllable but contributes with unexpected but valuable plants which would have been cleared out as weeds in the arable land. The wildness of the ecotone allows an organic development in which unexpected synergy effects are possible. The basic view of progression in drama takes its beginning in child's play, and continues into dramatic play and further into a personal development into drama as a form of art. It involves "the teacher [is] attempting to match the child's existing experience of play to the less familiar form of theatre" (Neelands, 1984, p. 7). But this progression is not linear or based on cause and effect but rather is a circular and winding spiral, and as Berggraf Sæbø shows, it is clearly linked to the leader's drama competence (2009). Further, the phenomenon of carnival

play is underlying the practice as a kind of rhizome, and its expressions can occur at any time and challenge the practice again and again. Dewey declares that the self does not become aware of itself without resistance to the surroundings, and life goes on in and through this environment (1934). Anna and Rachel describe the unpredictability of the drama practice they experienced in Grade Two (Interview, 10.12.13):

> Anna: There are occasions when I stopped and thought, 'what happens now?' 'Why did this work, and not that?' It seemed so good when I thought about it and made up plans.
> Rachel: And the contrary, 'This can go totally wrong', but then it worked absolutely great, and it's difficult to know why…
> Anna: Yes, one can be very surprised.
> Rachel: I think one gets surprised every time… it's not just for the kids that it is "pirrigt".

The progression analysed in this chapter is what Fleming describes as a descriptive account, which concerns a natural development. Aims were formulated for the project as the school applied for funding, but the project was viewed as explorative and there were no specific expectations, no assessments or tests that would produce any kind of 'evidence'. This gave participants the freedom to acknowledge the events that took place and to respond in ways they considered most fruitful. With reference to the metaphorical model, the movement from schooling into the habitat of the ecotone was allowed to take its time, and the tensions emerging at the border were acknowledged and reflected on. The tensions and disequilibrium were not met by disciplinary power (Foucault, 1980) to regain order at any cost, but rather seen as challenges to investigate in order to gain more knowledge and understanding.

There were also examples of prescriptive accounts of progression, which define a certain expected progression and development of a specific teaching in drama (Fleming, 2011), but those examples did not primarily concern objectives for pupils learning in drama as art subject. They rather referred to the basics of drama and pedagogical tools, such as how to structure the lessons and how to approach certain challenges, such as when Anna decided that two boys should not participate in drama lessons for a couple of weeks. In December 2013, visiting Dalhem School for the last time during the fall, I asked the teachers to sum up what they considered were signs of

progression in the drama practice (Interviews December 10, 11 and 12, 2013). The fact that we noted signs of progression does not mean that there were no setbacks but rather that the participants in the drama team agreed that visible development had occurred.

A clearer structure in drama lessons developed, as a result of teachers' and drama pedagogues' collaborative and explorative work. Due to my request that they would send their lesson plans and reflections of the outcome of the lessons, to which I responded and sent back, the explorative process became formulated and visible. Fleming describes the tension in aesthetic practice between structure on the one hand, and creating conditions for qualitative experiences on the other. It should not be viewed as a dichotomy, but rather a 'microcosm' and part of a holistic approach (2012). Drama implies action, and pupils needs motivation in order to engage; therefore, tensions on different levels are unavoidable but also needed (Neelands, 1984). The structure of the lessons often included recapitulating the narrative worked on, storytelling, teacher-in-role interaction, dramatization, and ended with a 'cliff-hanger', which created excitement and 'extended tension' (Fleming, 2011). Doing process dramas that continued for two or more weeks created coherence and engagement among the pupils. During my visits and talking with pupils in Grade Four, I observed their engaged discussions during breaks, of events in the process drama and that they looked forward to the next lesson.

The drama team aimed for pupils' self-control by engagement and motivation and not by 'disciplinary power'. A frail but increasing capability to switch between listening to instructions and working creatively in pairs and in groups, a basic condition for drama lessons, was slowly growing. Besides developments of form and content in drama lessons, this was related to the pupils increased understanding of drama, inner motivation for concentration and governmentality (Foucault, 1988), understood as self-control. Different pedagogical tools were tried out in order to support the pupils' understanding and engagement. In second grade, Anna carefully explained what an instruction is. She wrote 'instruction' in capital letters on a large piece of paper which she showed when she needed to stop the activity in order to give the pupils an instruction. The drama team also developed their skills in how to lead the drama work from

'within' (O'Neill, 1995), which lessened the need to pause the practice in order to give instructions.

Reflective dialogue and 'responding' (Fleming, 2011) was a major challenge in the project. As teachers and drama pedagogues made invitations to talk about the content of a process drama or a story, pupils often started to move around in their chair, interrupt each other and talk about other things. Sometimes they commented, "When do we get to start?" (Field notes, 04-10-13), implying that talking was not a favourable part of drama lessons. In the questionnaire, the statement, "The best thing about drama is…?" was answered by one pupil "…that it is fun because we don't talk so much". Particularly with younger pupils, it can be challenging to create conditions for meaningful talks, as they often have a pent-up need for 'action' within the school context. As O'Neill points out regarding how to pursue reflection with pupils: "it is likely to require as much skill as the structuring of the drama itself" and will make considerable demands on the teacher (O'Neill, 1982, p. 142). 'Responding' to drama, which also needs a framework and structure (Fleming, 2001, 2011), was explored in Grade Two, in which the pupils were asked to re-tell what they saw and heard after classmates performed a scene. Anna and Rachel found it a functional first step in training young pupils to learn about responding and was fruitful in relation to Swedish teaching as well. In Grade Four, Ingrid described that there were moments during drama classes, for example, in relation to making collages of a village, where reflective dialogues with the pupils were about to develop, but the timetable often made it difficult to follow through.

The presented accounts of progression during the first semester of the project, can be described as development of basic conditions for implementing drama in the teaching. This thesis suggests that the tensions and disequilibrium arising in relation to the drama project, do not in particular originate with the pupils, but the fact that a process of making room for a habitat of ecotone within the schooling ecosystem was initiated, which illuminated pedagogical dilemmas and activated different levels of resistance. Even though the progression may be considered fragile, it aligns with what is described by Fleming at comparable ages, and can, on behalf of the pupils be described as a movement from dramatic play to dramatic art (2011). The project was an

investigative collaboration with teachers, drama pedagogues and me as a doctoral student and there were no demands on measuring specific results, and there was a freedom to aim for a stable basic ground for the drama practice, and to explore the different issues occurring, with open minds. That did not, however, mean there was no 'pressure' since the Director of the culture centre, the principal and the drama team still wanted to be able to present results. In my field notes, I wrote as I left Dalhem School the last time in December 2013 that the project "was allowed an organic progression" (13-12-13), which I consider created good conditions for collaboration between participants in the project. We were all very much aware it was a learning process for all of us and that it was allowed to be so. I believe this was a factor that supported the collaboration and the progress in the project.

Most of the pupils at Dalhem School belong to minority groups in society which could have been relevant to address in the drama practice in a more comprehensive way. The pupils' social lives outside of school were not integrated in the work in a conscious way by the drama team (Dewey, 1938, 1980). I noted, "I wonder to what extent pupils experience the school world and the outside world as two completely different worlds" (Field notes, 24-01-14). However, it is impossible to determine how the presented stories were processed by the pupils and what the stories generated in their minds, bodies and feelings. Drawn from Dewey, children view the world holistically, integrating body and mind and learn by being active, 'by doing' (1980, 1934). The frustrations that the participants in the drama team expressed were not expressed by the pupils. All the pupils except one boy in Grade Four who stated he did not "like theatre" (Field notes, 20-05-14) clearly stated an urge to use their imagination and that the drama lessons were satisfying, which indicates a genuine need and interest. My analysis shows that one reason for that was that the pupils were to some extent able to "dispose of themselves" through drama (Dewey, 1980, p. 40), and they were able to move from the habitat of schooling to the ecotone. The thesis suggests that a possibility of creating experiences 'in fiction' together with classmates contributes to a widened habitus (Bourdieu, 1977), as a boy in fourth grade said, "You can be whoever you want".

5.2 Learning Swedish in and through drama

Learning Swedish through drama was particularly illuminated in Grades One and Two. The drama work indicated a deeper understanding of textbooks and stories, and the safe space created within the ecotone made the pupils less shy and supported them to ask questions and express themselves, possibly also supporting the pupils' vocabulary (Kalogirou et al., 2019). Anna describes that "there is a new depth in the Swedish teaching" (Interview, 10-12-13), in that what happens during drama and during Swedish lessons becomes integrated and permeates each other. Rachel confirms that she developed a greater awareness of her use of language as she leads drama work: she is clearer and more structured and conscious about her choice of words, which has had positive effects on her work at the culture centre as well (Interview, 10-12-13). Several writers describe that involving process drama and physical action in second language teaching cultivates the desire to communicate, boost fluency and stimulates the authentic verbal participation of beginner learners (Kao & O'Neill, 1998; Stinson, 2008; Rothwell, 2011).

The teaching in Swedish through drama was based on a functionalistic perspective, which underscores the content, context and language in its function. This is contrary to a formalistic perspective which prioritizes grammar and technical aspects of language (Malmgren, 1996). Wilhelm underscores that drama supports the idea of reading as an active process of meaning-making and "creates a context for more sophisticated comprehension and the creation of elaborated meaning" (2007, p. 91). In the project, the Swedish teaching related to drama practice encompassed discussing difficult words occurring during dramatization in process drama, and spontaneous writing in relation to enacted scenes and process drama. A great challenge was how to involve pupils who did not understand much Swedish. Ingrid wrote in an email concerning first grade pupils, as she reflected on a drama lesson that did not work out very well (17-10-13):

> The teacher described that the children are too 'language-weak'.[15] But then I began to think... I got the feeling that many of the kids do not think it's quite clear what it means to be in role, that they do not know how to do it and what is expected to be done. The task was difficult also because the children were expected to work independently in

[15] The Swedish word *'språk-svag'* (language-weak) is, used by teachers and teacher students when describing pupils' difficulties in learning Swedish, but it does not have a clear definition. In her study of fourth graders, Moeller (2004) also questions the concept of 'struggling readers' as she worked with shifting roles in literature discussions.

pairs. I think they are really good at communicating, even if it is not always in words.

Ingrid related the drama lesson to learning in drama as a subject. Rather than there being a language problem, she noted that the pupils actually communicated with each other; however, they needed more experience in drama in order to "move beyond dramatic play". This concerns what Fleming states – that drama needs to "be *taught* as dramatic art form" (Fleming, 2012, p. 77 [my italics]). In their continuing collaboration, Ingrid and Betty developed supportive exercises in drama lessons for pupils who had not yet mastered Swedish by using images, repeating words together with bodily expressions, using mime and creating collages to ensure that all the pupils would feel included. Above all, engaging stories created a common experience which supported dialogue. Ingrid wrote (email 02-11-13):

> It's very rewarding to do storytelling for the kids, to use a dramatic story-voice. Then they always stay engaged! They had many suggestions on what horrors the dragon could do, I see it as that the story engages them. They actively and independently imagine within the framework of the story.

Ingrid described that children who were very shy in the beginning of the project, became more open and she found that the use of cliff-hangers, that is, ending drama lessons with a question, problem or challenge, engaged the pupils and made them forget their shyness. In an interview with Betty and Ingrid (11-12-13), this was discussed:

> Anneli: In terms of learning, do you think it has worked well when it came to combining drama and school work?
> Betty: Yes, definitely, and today, I could not help myself but ask before we ended the lesson, "What have you learned today? Have you learned something new?" [And there were many suggestions and someone learned '*svank*'[16]].
> Betty: The stories we worked with have not had a content linked to specific knowledge or facts in that sense, but [naming] feelings and reaching out to one another... how one feels... and they could express themselves in very many ways
> Ingrid: When the story was engaging, the pupils forgot to be shy. It's so hard to explain it, but that they actually waited and listened to each other, when we talked about the body parts, I'm surprised of the power in the story, I'm totally religious.

[16] '*Svank*' is the Swedish word for lower back. In the drama lesson, they made an exercise which involved saying the names of different body parts.

Ingrid describes her strong experience and insight of the power in a drama lesson that really engaged all the pupils and that the story they worked with, created a focus which supported pupils' creativity and seemingly, their learning in Swedish, what Nicholson describes as student-centred learning in drama (2009). As Fleming puts it, it can be "extremely bewildering" to describe progression in learning and "particularly in the arts" (2011, p. 140) and Betty and Ingrid fumbled for words when they tried to describe what they experienced with the pupils in first grade. The drama lessons had been part of the timetable for several months. Ingrid and Betty found a fruitful way of working, and the pupils had been able to develop their understanding of drama at their own pace. The stories were engaging, they were allowed to use their minds, feelings and bodies in the learning process. Further, the practice underscored language as communication and not as a school subject (Dewey, 1958). As a result of the weekly drama practice, a growing understanding of the ecotone was evolving, and further, there was a growing awareness that habitus in the ecotone allowed other kinds of expressions than in the schooling area.

In second grade, Anna and Rachel as well found it very fruitful to integrate drama and Swedish teaching. They explored a variety of practices related to teaching Swedish and drama: pupils worked in pairs building the alphabet with their bodies and dramatized stories from their textbooks by using their imagination to make up characters and scenes when looking at pictures, which they then performed for classmates. When working with a pirate theme, Rachel filmed their performances, which they watched together and discussed. The pirate theme and the films inspired the pupils' imagination and gave them motivation to write stories. The pupils that could not write themselves told their stories to Anna and Rachel, who wrote them down. The Swedish teaching was moving away from focusing on reading solely as a decoding process into that of a meaning-making process (Wilhelm, 2007). Anna explained in an interview (10-12-13) how the drama practice and collaboration with Rachel influenced her planning of lessons: "When I sit and think of my Swedish lessons now, things pop up. I can do it like this, and I can do like that… this is really something I have gained". Anna describes a developing pedagogical diversity in her teaching, which was a result of their collaboration.

The pupils in Grade Two had challenged Anna and Rachel on many different levels, and they experienced palpable tensions. The disequilibrium at the border of schooling and ecotone resulted in an edge-effect and a diversity in terms of their teaching, which not only the pupils found stimulating but Anna and Rachel as well. Due to the creative dialogue that Anna and Rachel developed, they both gained further training and could also describe progression in their work. As the teacher, Anna was prepared to step away from schooling into the ecotone combined with Rachel's skill as drama pedagogue, and as a result, experienced fruitful developments regarding the relation of drama practice and learning in Swedish.

The importance of stories

To develop the work with stories and process drama is closely related to the teaching in Swedish. In first, second and fourth grade, learning Swedish through drama was explored in various ways during the project. As basic practical and pedagogical elements in the drama practice were establishing, the choice of which stories to work with became an important topic of discussion in the drama team. We concluded that one process drama probably was too childish for the pupils in Grade One, which explained their lack of engagement. One story, "*Boj och den starke*"[17] was performed by actors at the culture centre, and Rachel and Anna brought the second-grade pupils to see it. The story contained a boy with a problematic relationship with his (possibly) abusive father. It was a bit scary for some of the pupils, but they continued to work with the story during drama lessons. The pupils created emojis, drawing sad, happy or indifferent faces in circles in order to describe their feelings after working with Boj.

Nineteen pupils drew emojis, and seven of them expressed mixed feelings, for example, a happy mouth and tears in the eyes, an angry face or a mouth going up and down. The pupils' expressions caused an important discussion in the drama team on how to choose stories to work with and the importance of following up stories that could generate worry among the pupils. Drawn from Dewey, the origin of thinking is 'perplexity', and tension and conflict are needed in order to

[17] *Boj* is the name of the boy and the head character in the story. '*Och den starke*' means 'and the strong one' and indicates Boj's father, who possibly abuses Boj in the story.

develop reflection (1960). The story of Boj was followed up, but could have been processed for several weeks by using a variety of non-naturalistic conventions and by decentering from the strong content in the story (Fleming, 2006); also, through "enduring suspense" (Dewey, 1960), the story could have created comprehensive meaning-making processes for the pupils. However, in order to accomplish that, time is needed with the pupils and skills are needed in how to use different drama conventions and how to process a strong topic from within drama (O'Neill, 1995; Hallgren, 2018).

In an interview, Ingrid and Betty describe that working with process drama in first grade supported communication in the group. Ingrid was responsible for planning and leading the lessons in dialogue with Betty, who always participated, and the process dramas based on stories. The pupils were divided in two groups, with nine pupils in each group, and they sat in a circle on chairs in the drama room. At certain moments in the story, they were invited to interact with Ingrid as the teacher-in-role. Betty and Ingrid agreed that working with process drama had been more constructive than previous lessons where they, in a more traditional manner, dramatized classical tales. By working with process drama in this way, lessons became more focused, and the children were more engaged. I asked them how they would like to summarize their work after the first semester, and Betty stated (Interview, 11-12-13):

> It has been fun because I see the joy in the children when they are going to drama class… and this structure is working, sitting on chairs is very good… making the pupils safe, and they don't need to disturb each other.

Ingrid described what she called "the big discovery" in working with stories this way, being together in a story (Interview, 11-12-13):

> When we are together in the story there is a direction and a goal… there is this cliff-hanger feeling; what will happen? It has been the great discovery with this group and it has created a meaning for me as well.

"Being together in a story" indicates a socialization process in an environment not characterized by measurement and assessment (Biesta, 2011). On the one hand, there is the "informed risk-taking" (Neelands, 1984) and freedom to improvise (what will happen?), but on the other hand,

the work is not floating aimlessly, because there is "a direction and a goal" in relation to the story. Ingrid and Betty moved together with the pupils into the ecotone in which a sense of connection and meaning was created. Further, Betty said that she observed a progression; the pupils in the beginning of the project were very shy, and often mimicked each other, but then they started to become more spontaneous and dared to use their own imagination, and to speak up and use their voices. Betty explained (Interview, 11-12-13).:

> One can see how they… are looking out in space thinking and being able to describe something… even the pupils that don't master the language…

The safe space established in the ecotone enabled the pupils to explore their thinking and their language by expressing their imagination, that is, "the loose flux of casual and disconnected material that floats through our minds" (Dewey, 1991, p. 2). This exemplifies language as communication, which differs from schooling, in which language is seen only as a tool for conveying thoughts or transferring information (Dewey, 1960). The possibility to "look out in space being able to describe", even if one does not master Swedish, offers conditions for subjectification though each pupil contributes in his or her unique way to the joint creation of the path the story takes.

When language is practiced in a 'functional' context of communication and pupils become engaged in a story, they are free "to say what they have to say, and not just what they have been learned to say" (Dewey, 1960, p. 77. See also Malmgren, 1996; Wilhelm, 2007). Ingrid describes it as: "The stories are what has brought them together, what brought us together" (email, 11-12-13). A progression could be noted where the pupils – through experiencing knowing-through-action practising process drama every week, a practice that not only relies on the mind (Dewey, 1934) – empowered them to dare to be spontaneous. When asked how they wanted to continue their work, they expressed different perspectives. Ingrid wanted to let go of the strict structure and give the pupils more freedom, encouraging their spontaneity. Betty was a bit reluctant and underlined the importance of not allowing chaos. Naturally, the teachers' position is from a schooling perspective, and Ingrid, as drama pedagogue, expressed a wish to develop an exploration of the ecotone, looking for a progression where the pupils could be invited to have

more agency. This topic was left as an open question to be returned to during the following semester.

Responding and reflection

According to Fleming (2011), during the post-Second World War period in schools, "teaching pupils how to respond to drama was not given very much attention" (2011, p. 131) and during this time, the emphasis was rather on creativity and self-expression. Fleming claims that responding is now acknowledged as an important objective, but like other content in drama, pupils need tools in order to learn how to give response from genuine engagement. As a way of introducing and exploring response, as well as providing opportunity for speaking Swedish, I suggested that the drama team could start by asking the pupils to re-tell the scenes their classmates performed. As they started to practice this, Rachel described (email, 02-03-14):

> There was an interesting conversation about betrayal and what that means, when Adnan & Mohammed performed their scene. Tian who just arrived in Sweden dared to talk and contributed several times. After the scenes, the audience and the players were asked to re-tell the scenes with supporting questions from Anna. I noted that Juha has an incredible observation skill. This child must have watched the scenes very carefully and seen things many others missed. Can we develop this re-telling somehow?

When initiating a new process drama called "War and Peas" in second grade, Rachel created a collage over the village, and while introducing the story, they talked about what they saw in the collage. Rachel knew that the collage contained items that some of the pupils did not know the words for (email 02-03-14):

> Anna and I asked about what they did not comment on in the collage, for example, market-stands, and one child said "flea market", and that was quite right. Another one did not understand what "peasant" meant, so we had to clear that up before starting the play.

This generated a conversation about going to flea markets. Anna and Rachel found that, in an atmosphere of association related to the story, children were less hesitant to ask about things they did not understand. In addition, Anna and Rachel found that sometimes the children asked

about words they took for granted that the pupils knew. Therefore, during the drama practice, they collected information in a contextual way in the areas in which the pupils needed more support. Through bodily expression, physical environment, images and spontaneous dialogue, drama became integrated in the processes of reading and writing in a functional way ratherthan in formalistic Swedish teaching in the classroom (Malmgren, 1996).

Anna underscored the importance of letting the pupils be active and engage in roleplay in order to support their ability to talk about the work (Interview 10-12-13):

> I believe the children are gaining a deeper understanding... there is a weight in what we do… some of the children have difficulties with the language… but the content is getting stronger if you have the opportunity to *do*, and to *be* in the story… [my italics] then it is easier for the children to talk about it… what they experienced…

In October 2013, Ingrid introduced the process drama "The Missing Bag" in Grade Four, in which a village with its inhabitants was in focus. They started by drawing and painting the village on a large paper. Christian describes it (Interview 09-12-13):

> Christian: Now there are events all the time in the village and we have worked with re-telling texts,[18] so it worked out quite well, and on the occasion when Ingrid was on sick leave, we could use the time to talk about what happened and write about it. Anneli: When they were to write the re-telling text, was there a difference in their approach to how they took on the task compared to how you normally work? Christian: Starting the assignment was easier... it felt like they were a bit more inspired, I think ... it became an interaction "when they came to my house, this happened ..."

In relation to how pupils responded to drama lessons, Ingrid and Christian created a structure including starting in the classroom and summing up what happened the week before. Then Ingrid would read a story or act as teacher-in-role, and the pupils received an assignment or a problem

[18] 're-telling text' in syllabuses for Swedish teaching: to describe in words something you heard, saw or read with your own words.

to solve. The lessons often, but not always, ended with the pupils performing scenes in groups in the drama room. Ingrid commented in an email (07-04-14):

> I think it was good to summarize what we did as a narrative, a summing text. I believe the kids liked what they listened to. They are used to starting each drama lesson this semester by summarizing the story we did last time and then getting their new assignment that relates to the story.

Christian confirmed what the teachers in first and second grade described – that drama lessons created a context where pupils could ask spontaneous questions which possibly would not have been expressed otherwise. In relation to a process drama, the pupils in Grade Four were asked to write a text about a memory their characters had. Christian told me that he discovered that some of the pupils did not understand the significance of a memory, which he took for granted they knew (Field notes 04-04-14). I asked Christian if the drama practice brought something new to his teaching (Interview, 22-05-14):

> Yes, the situations we have done in the process drama has helped, situations that we can write about rather than having to make up or create something that they are not connected to, and now they are relating to this village. When we have drama, it becomes easier for them to write their re-telling texts about an event in the village. We can always go back to a common reference point that we can talk about.

Responding and reflection in a structured way was the least developed aspect of the drama practice in the project. According to my experience, this is a common issue in all teaching in compulsory school, and as Dewey describes it, "children's conversation is often confined to answering questions in brief phrases or in single disconnected sentences" (1960, p. 245), which I find an apt description of what I can observe in many classrooms today as a teacher educator. It is important to understand that responding and reflection in drama practice needs careful planning and structure, nevertheless, accomplishing authentic responses from pupils, "is not a simple matter of providing them with a systematic framework" but also to create conditions for spontaneity (Fleming, 2001, p. 86).

5.3 The ecotone as an uncultivated area

In my use of metaphors, the ecotone is an uncultivated and wild area (Smith & Smith, 2012) and different to the cultivated area of schooling. The ecotone is characterized by its diversity, which is caused by the so-called edge-effect and represents something else than traditional school work. It is a wild habitat which may exhibit a jumble of expressions and in which species considered as weeds in schooling can be valuable in the ecotone.

The practice within the ecotone involves questions of 'institutional disciplinary power' (Foucault, 1980, 1984) in reference to the teacher–pupil relations, the body, and time and space. Further, the learnification discourse is put aside, though the learning process in the ecotone is divergent, meaning that specific learning outcomes are not defined beforehand (Biesta, 2011; Lindström, 2012). In all four groups, the pupils expressed a desire to play, to be physically active, to express themselves, and to engage in imagination and do theatre. As the pupils were invited to activate their imagination, a wide flora of expressions flourished. It presented dilemmas for the teachers and drama pedagogues, as it included expressions that were provocative, offensive to classmates, or pre-occupied with other topics, for example, football. Anna, Rachel and Ingrid proceeded in their struggle to approach these expressions without devolving into 'discursive exclusion procedures' (Foucault, 1993). The freedom within the ecotone created what the pupils denoted as a "*pirrigt*" feeling, that is, a mixture of expectation, excitement and nervousness.

When interviewing a girl, Sabina, and a boy, Herran, in first grade, we talked about how one can pretend to be someone else in drama, which they both stated that they like. I ask them if there is anything else that they think of concerning drama lessons. Sabina uses the word "pirrigt" that several of the children used, when I asked what they felt when going to the drama room. It is a dialectal word I am familiar with and a word mostly used by children or when adults talk with children. I asked the children questions about what they meant in order to investigate if my interpretation was consistent with theirs. As I understand the word, it describes a feeling that is a mixture of expectation, joy and nervousness (Interview 09-12-13).

Anneli: Is there anything more you think about drama?

Sabina: it is *pirrigt* as well
Anneli: What is it that makes it *pirrigt*?
Sabina: You get *uppvarvad*[19] so sort of not too *pirrig* – just a little and so one wants to do the things.
Herran: When I am out for a break and when it's drama time, I think about what we will do in drama class.
Anneli: Do you also feel a bit *pirrig*?
Herran: Yes.
Anneli: Is it *pirrig* in a good way or in a bad way?
Herran: It is tedious to wait.
Anneli: To wait for what?
Herran: For drama. I think it is fun.
Anneli: So, it is *pirrigt* in a good way?
Herran: Yes.

While planning drama lessons and developing a functioning structure, to take care of pupils' excitement and not leave them to be too much 'uppvarvade' in active engagement in fruitful drama lessons emanates from children's association with dramatic playing, which is part of the educational power (Fleming, 2011). Several pupils used the word *pirrigt* in relation to drama lessons and describe experiences of something different than being in the area of schooling. The ecotone habitat offers not only a changed space and the opportunity to play and use imagination but also being exposed to a risk-taking practice in which one cannot be sure what is going to happen. Anna and Rachel started to recognize aspects of drama related to practical everyday life in drama lessons and meaning-making through explorative 'mimesis processes' (Rasmussen, 2001). These signs of development emerged as the pupils' ability to use their imagination and express themselves grew. Anna also described a progress in the pupils' learning where drama practice deepened the content of different elements in the teaching (Interview 10-12-13):

> Many of these children… I am generalizing now… they don't have much to tell after weekends… it's kind of scant… but through our drama work, they have gained wider perspectives… we haven't given them a lot of [real] excursions, but we have given them a world of images somehow.

[19] The Swedish word, *uppvarva,* that Sabina uses can be parted in two, *upp* = up, *varva* = for example, when you push the gaspedal in a car to increase the speed. Sabina describes experiencing a feeling of hightened intensity, wanting to "do the things".

Anna describes a common experience for teachers, that children often want to tell their classmates what they have been doing during weekends or holidays. It can be challenging for teachers to frame these conversations during lessons, knowing that some of the pupils do not have much to tell. However, through the pupils' joint imaginary experiences during drama practice, Anna thought that they could create an imaginary world where they could share and talk. In my interviews with the pupils, I started with the question, "What is the first thing that comes to your mind when you think of drama?" Most of the pupils spontaneously answered with "fun" or "exciting". Further, I tried to problematize the drama practice and asked them if it really was a good idea to have drama in school (Interview, 06-12-13):

> Anneli: What if an adult would say that "you should not have drama in school. Drama is just a lot of games, and you won't learn anything"?
> Leona: Clearly, we are learning something.
> Ylva: They can shut up with what they say. They should think about what they say.
> Anneli: But do you learn something in drama that is different from other lessons?
> Ylva: You have quite a lot of imagination ... like an imagination-lesson.
> Anneli: So, you can learn something about imagination.
> Ylva: Yes, and then you learn a lot about fairy tales.

This excerpt is representative of many of the interviews with the pupils in all groups, as almost all of them expressed that drama was fun and exciting. When I asked if they wanted to continue to have drama lessons and if one can learn something in drama, they were all very consistent that drama was important and that you certainly can learn things in drama. Pupils in first grade in Sweden are around seven years old and fall 2013 was their first semester in primary school for the first graders in the project. They encountered play and drama exercises in pre-school, but drama lessons, led by drama pedagogue Ingrid, represented something else. It was different from ordinary schoolwork and playing in the schoolyard during breaks. During the second half of fall 2013, Ingrid reflected on how to develop her work with process drama and how to gain *all* pupils' trust, engaging them in belief and commitment to the imaginary world of drama (Owens & Barber, 2006). Ingrid describes a sequence during a process drama when she tells a story and invites the pupils to enact some parts of the story (email 28-10-13):

> There are two children in group number one who finds it very hard to engage in the dramatization or take it seriously. It seems to me that they constantly try to prick a hole in the fiction-balloon that everyone else tries to keep in the air. They want to puncture it. I will try to address this (without specifically targeting them) when I meet the group next time.

As a result of her investigation of how to approach situations where some pupils wanted to "puncture the fiction-balloon", Ingrid started to talk with the pupils about "breaking the play". It was an expression they seemed to understand, and they all recognized situations when the 'play broke', which they found disappointing. As the understanding for drama and the trust for Ingrid as teacher-in-role grew, reluctant pupils gained more confidence to take part in the improvisations. Ingrid describes a sequence where two boys struggled with belief, but she engaged them by giving them role protection (Owens & Barber, 2006). Ingrid describes how she was in the middle of telling a story (email, 18-10-13):

> "The Queen said that the hungry people would not get anything at all!" Two boys had difficulties taking the assignment seriously. They were unfocused and floundered. But when they threw themselves on the floor, I said, "Good! Top, we can pretend you fainted by hunger and thirst because you didn't have the strength to walk any more, and so you just have to lie there on the ground". And then they did!

This was a turning point for these pupils, and in the continuing lesson, the two boys engaged in the drama and entered the fictive dimension. The situation describes the aspect of the ecotone as an uncultivated area, in which one does not know what is going to happen. The risk-taking of this caused a "pirrig" feeling when entering the drama room. But by Ingrid's use of role protection (Owens & Barber, 2006), the pupils' trust grew stronger, which showed that the 'ecotone' also could be experienced as a safe haven (Hjort, 2003). In the situation described, the 'sensitive species' in the 'ecotone', the pupils' fragile engagement and acting was integrated and thereby became an example of a diversity of expressions. By not reprimanding the boys and acknowledging their expressions as 'sensitive species', Ingrid could incorporate their actions in the process drama.

Being absorbed in the creative process

Anna and Rachel describe in emails that the pupils asked what different words meant without hesitation and shyness as working with stories and learning new words became an organic part of the work. When working with a process drama on pirates, which included the pupils receiving and writing letters and stories, Rachel describes Adnan's and Tarek's engagement. Adnan and Tarek quite often had difficulties to concentrate during drama lessons, and she wrote about how proud, but still embarrassed, they were when their story was read out loud for classmates. The pirate theme seemed to particularly engage them (email, 02-10-13):

> As Adnan and Tarek rehearsed the dramatizing of their story, they worked incredibly concentratedly, and they knew exactly what to do. They had their lines and were really in-role. They rehearsed in the middle of the room where the other groups rehearsed around them and made noise and ran around, but they were in their bubble doing their thing without being influenced by the others.

This example describes what Slade terms 'absorption', which he defines as "being completely wrapped up in what is being done and the exclusion of all other thoughts, including the awareness or desire for an audience" (1995). Tarek and Adnan seemed to experience kairos, a qualitative time, being in "their bubble", as they forgot everything around them. Tarek and Adnan were captivated by the pirate theme, and their absorption in the work shows that pupils who are considered to have concentration problems actually have a strong capability for concentration if the circumstances are right. It is not clear why this particular lesson created this engagement, but there are some important factors: a) they liked the theme; b) they were allowed agency to create a scene, which was their own interpretation of the story; c) they wrote it down, which clarified for themselves the narrative; and d) they were allowed to work in pairs with a person they favoured working with.

Imagination and improvisation

Ingrid and Betty summarized their work (Interview, 11-12-13) and agreed that they experienced progression particularly regarding the children's engagement in the process dramas and the courage to express themselves and their imagination. They agreed there were still challenges in

order to engage all the pupils every lesson, as some were still shy, and to find a balance between their leading of the lesson and children's freedom of expression and agency. As their work progressed the question of improvisation surfaced. As O'Neill points out, improvisation can evoke fruitful dramatic worlds, promote spontaneity and allow participants to practice their abilities. Nevertheless, improvisation needs skillful leadership and structure and does not necessarily lead to the generating of a dramatic world (O'Neill, 1995). Betty found the structure of drama lessons very good; sitting in a circle on chairs while Ingrid tells the story and acts as the teacher-in-role, and the pupils interact with her one by one. Betty insisted it was important that the pupils always raised their hand if they want to say something or answer a question. However, Ingrid expressed a wish to explore how the children could express themselves spontaneously, without raising their hands (Interview, 11-12-13):

> Ingrid: It's something about sitting in the circle and it is an atmosphere of playfulness that one wishes one could have the structure that I would like them to say things right out because they are quite a few children… that one still could have the feeling that one can sit on the chair without it being ritualized but it cannot be done
> Betty: they are too young
> Ingrid: I know it is better that they raise their hands but I wish it hadn't been that way…

As drama pedagogue Ingrid describes a possible progression where spontaneous dialogues and improvisation could be explored, she seeks to create the possibility of sustaining an 'atmosphere of playfulness'. Betty, who has the responsibility as a teacher, teaching first grade pupils how classroom interaction is working, is pleased by the pupils raising their hands in drama lessons as well. The dilemma of supporting the pupils' spontaneity while at the same time upholding a focused atmosphere in which pupils were listening to each other, was experienced in all the groups. At the end of the semester, Christian described how he was surprised that the whole group in fourth grade was engaged during drama lesson (Interview, 12-12-13):

> Christian: All nineteen were ... they wanted so much ... I think of previous years when doing exercises, there was always someone standing by the side. Now it feels like all 19 want to join, want to show, want to do ... it was a bit surprising. I thought

there would be someone we would need to appeal to, to pull ... but there was no need.
Anneli: If you think about creativity ... we have not talked so much about that ...
Christian: Yes, that is no problem ... ideas are flowing, then there are some who have more than others, but no one says "no" or "I do not know". Everyone wants to and everyone has ideas.

When interviewing pupils in fourth grade, they expressed a will to imagination and improvisation, and when I asked what they thought of drama lessons, one girl said, “I feel like this – wow, we can do these roles, and what happens if Linda [classmate] can go into the hole and check the letter?” She immediately referred to a process drama and her statement illuminates the challenge to describe in a theoretical way what it comprehends, but by referring to the narrative, she managed to express something of her experience. Interviewing two boys in Grade Four, I asked about their thoughts about drama (12-12-13):

Hariz: Something exciting, something new is going to happen.
Malak: Yes, the same for me.
Anneli: What makes it exciting?
Hariz: You can be anyone, you can be any age, you can work in different places if you want. A lot of new stuff happens all the time, and you never know what.
Anneli: Being anybody, that’s about using imagination?
Malak: Yes, that's why it's called drama.
Anneli: Taking on roles and using one’s imagination – why is that a good and fun thing?
Hariz: Because you can do something new.
Malak: You can feel as someone else and show something new every time and might think different things as well.
Malak: You can be a villain or police, a soldier...
Anneli: Do you think it’s a good thing to have drama in school?
Hariz: Yes, I do… it's better for the kids. You get imagination… and energy

Hariz and Malak answered generously to my questions in a reflective way, but at the same time, without hesitation and in a self-assured way. Hariz and Malak was determined that having drama in school was good “for the kids”, and they underscored that the excitement was related to the divergent and contingent nature of drama (Fleming, 2011; Lindström, 2009). New things happen

all the time in drama lessons, and you do not know what, and that is the excitement of it. They spoke of role-taking and the benefit of being able to try different and opposing perspectives, for example, a police officer or a villain. Malak, who did not speak as much as Hariz, underscored that one can feel like someone else, which describes the depth of the experience during drama. Pupils in fourth grade more often used the words 'imagination', acting 'in role' and 'improvising' than the younger pupils, which can be due to a richer vocabulary. Several of them wrote in the questionnaire that when thinking of drama, they thought of things like, "a lot of imagination", "to act in different roles", "the stories were as they were real", and "you can be whoever you want to be" (Questionnaire). Two girls describe the best thing about having drama (Interview, 12-12-13):

> Kit: It's doing roles and using imagination.
> Dora: Yes, I like it... lot of fun... and what's happening? what's going to happen? ... the best thing is to have fun – and you're playing, and that's good.
> Kit: It's good to use imagination. If you use imagination, it becomes more fun (...) you think how the village looks like how the border looks like [referring to process drama]
> Dora: It was like with our voices ...
> Anneli: Do you mean that you change your voice when you do a role?
> Dora: It usually gets deeper or lighter. It's different.
> Kit: My classmate… my best friend, she is very good, and she usually does not speak very loudly. But when we did this role where she was at the hairdresser, and I would cut her hair, then she spoke very loudly and really, really good.

What the pupils expressed indicated that on their behalf the step from schooling into the ecotone, to which they related improvisation and spontaneity, was easy. On behalf of the drama team, it was met as quite a big challenge which they perceived as an uncultivated area where the question of control was related to many questions, though their experience and skill in leading process drama was limited (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Fleming, 2001).

5.4 Ecotone as a 'safe haven'

Ecotone as a 'safe haven' (Hjort, 2003) incorporates the contradiction that stepping into the unknown, taking risks, supports safety, but a safety not building on control. Even though the

drama practitioners strive to minimize the risk of participants feeling exposed it does not mean striving for 'security' at every level. Drama practice implies that teachers are prepared to take informed risks (Neelands, 1984) to express their own spontaneity and imagination, to let go of the desire to convey certain facts and knowledge they consider important, and to maintain control. Ecotone involves what Heathcote describes as a 'penalty-free zone' (Johnson & O'Neill, 1984, p. 128) in which the leader takes responsibility for creating a safe environment for participants and a functional structure. Further, Ecotone as a 'safe haven' implies that sensitive 'species' as imagination and exploration are protected, which means a striving to provide against reprimands and recrimination in favour of encouraging pupils' engagement and responsibility for the drama (Fleming, 2011). This does not mean however, to lower the standards and, for example, letting games and exercises dominate the practice, which may involve resisting a pleasing response from pupils and their request for more games (Fleming, 2012).

As the first semester came to an end, a growing understanding of the 'drama contract' (Barber & Owens, 2006) evolved, in which the three terms: collaboration, compromising, and taking turns, were recurrently used, especially in second grade. The progression involved teachers and drama pedagogues' investigation of approaches, what Neelands describes as attitudes, for example taking informed risks, encouraging children to make their own choices and to discover their own voices, and to organize teaching which is meaningful for the pupils (Neelands, 1984). There was a growing atmosphere of tolerance in which pupils accepted each other; for example, one girl who often stood aside or participated in her own way. Shy pupils were taking part to a higher degree, daring to express themselves. A boy who did not speak Swedish could participate in enacted parts of the lesson. Further, there was an increasing acceptance to collaborate with different classmates during drama lessons. The pupils appropriated the word 'drama contract' and sometimes utilized it during breaks as well.

Pupils in first and second grade did not use the word 'imagination' very often, but expressed in different ways their interest in entering a fictive world. Ingrid commented on the importance of using carefully chosen props to support imagination (26-03-14):

> As for this group, it is good to use some props related to the characters, to tighten up their concentration (and maybe I am a better role-player?) When I once forgot the monkey when I was Bojan [teacher-in-role], I was corrected by a boy, who told me that I had to use it when I'm Bojan. And I confirmed that he was absolutely right.

Pupils expressed the importance of being allowed to 'do', to express themselves with their bodies (Dewey, 1938; Fleming, 2011). The employment of the 'imagination button' in first and second grade clarified 'in-and-out' of fiction, taking on roles and understanding fiction. This gave the drama team and the pupils tools to describe and explain aspects of drama. Ingrid found a way of talking to the children especially in first grade, about what happens when everyone does not consent to 'belief' in drama. She explained it as when the play or the drama "breaks". It seemed like the pupils understood the metaphor and it became a tool to support the process. Ingrid described how pupils appropriated the tool in order to maintain 'belief' (Email, 17-03-14):

> We talked a bit about the vulnerability of imagination again and there was another boy who could formulate that one should be careful of the game otherwise it could break.

The use of the metaphor that a game or a drama can 'break' if the group does not take care of it together, served as a constructive alternative to reprimanding the pupils. As Anna was doing the process drama *Tummen* by herself, she made an experience of leading from 'within' which served as a step forward in her negotiation with her pupils.

> Anna: I thought it was interesting how efficient it was to refer to 'keeping the drama alive'. The pupils are an experience richer since we worked with *Tummen*. I could see in the face of one boy what it would mean if the story could not be continued.

Anna and Rachel reflected on how to structure drama lessons that included engaging the pupils and encouraging their imagination, supporting pupils who found it challenging. When working with a pirate story, one lesson started by the class received an anonymous letter. When Rachel read the letter, the children were invited to associate and imagine who wrote it and what the story behind it was (email, 13-09-13):

> I chose to be more spontaneous for my own sake, didn't want to be pinioned… but being able to pick up the children's ideas. Despite some turmoil and talking at the same time, many ideas came from many children. I think all children except one contributed with one or more ideas. My role became to interweave the children's ideas to a wholeness, help them to see how the ideas can fit together. Child 4 had very many ideas and wanted to speak many times. Did she get too much speaking space at the expense of the others? Other children with less vocabulary maybe need more time to develop ideas.

Supporting some of the pupils' agency sometimes risked hindering other pupils. As Fleming points out the level of collaboration is not just a matter of pupils' age, but also "the degree of maturity and social cohesion within the group" (2011, p. 58). It is not possible to expect that all pupils will be equally active, but drama pedagogue Rachel sought to encourage all participants to step out of their safety zone or to listen more carefully to classmates. Anna described her own process of being able to let go of her own insecurity and have faith in the drama process. Despite that her group had several pupils with great difficulties, she did not linger in the Schooling area by focusing on the children's behaviour and discipline problems but rather was increasingly interested in how to develop her own competence in teaching drama.

During January and February 2014, the drama pedagogues did not come to the school, and Anna was supposed to facilitate the drama lessons herself. I suggested working with the theme of cultural identity since I had become more aware of the need to address this aspect. I introduced a story where the head character, Tummen, gets lost. He is playing with a ball and finds his way to an unknown area where the inhabitants speak another language. Tummen wants to play, but as it happens, he kicks the ball through a window that breaks. The inhabitants are upset and put him in jail. Anna was nervous and excited to develop her leadership in process drama, practicing teacher-in-role without the support of Rachel. After such a lesson, she describes (email, 23-01-14):

> …we were in jail… but the pupils were losing focus, so I said, "Shh! Someone is coming", and it became absolutely quiet and I could get out of one role and in to another, a quite harsh guard… then I could move back to my first role… the children were captivated… it was magic.

She describes her experience of improvising in and out of roles and how she *in role* and *in drama* could maintain the pupils' engagement and concentration, which was a recurrent issue. Neelands compares it with writing a story where the teacher starts to 'write' and give the pupils 'clues' in how they can be 'co-authors' and continue the story (1984).

For the drama team a common way of working was to let pupils work in pairs or in small groups, which often caused turbulence. As part of exploring process drama, they started to work with whole group improvisations which they felt was a risk-taking method but also opened up new qualities in the practice. Fourth grade pupils were eager to 'do theatre' in groups but stated that the most challenging part of drama work, is how to 'get started', collaborate and make decisions about a scene (Video recording 20-05-14). Christian confirmed (Interview, 22-05-14) what Anna said about the second-grade pupils, that there were no obvious progression or clear signs of development concerning social interplay or self-esteem. Pupils who were mature in their way of communicating and solving conflict, were that way during drama lessons as well and pupils who were often involved in conflicts elsewhere, tended to be so during the drama practice as well. Anna and Christian underlined though, that there had been a positive outcome in terms of ability to play together and to follow through assignments during drama lessons. The pupils developed in the way they were able to engage in roles and concentrate during classmates' performances. However, as Dewey states, when pupils show interest in something, it is a sign of a growing ability and therefore it is vital that the teachers are always attentive to what children show an interest in (Dewey, 1980).

5.5 'The Viking Village'

The sections in 6.5 are based on video recordings from one lesson in Grade Four and are complemented by field notes. In May 2014, Christian and Ingrid agreed to work on a Viking theme in the last series of drama lessons in the project. It was important for Christian that he saw an opportunity to work with history through drama. As a drama pedagogue, Ingrid aimed for progression in terms of the aesthetic perspective and to do work 'in drama'. She initially found the Viking theme challenging, as it easily falls into an orthodox approach to the topic. Several of

the pupils in Grade Four previously complained that they were not allowed to use their imagination, act and "do theatre" to a sufficient degree. Ingrid wanted to accommodate their desire, and acknowledged the dilemma that coherent planning needs to be sufficiently stimulating for the pupils but at the same time avoid imposing schemes of progression that could risk distorting drama as an art form (Fleming, 2011). The planning of 'The Viking Village' displayed the tensions at the border of schooling, ecotone and art, where the teacher was concerned about curriculum and assessment; also, some of the pupils still found drama a bit confusing while others showed interest and the ability to move deeper into the area of art. Ingrid was responsible for the planning and addressed the challenge with different expectations.

The first lesson (in which Ingrid could not participate) starts in the classroom and Christian reconnects to previous lessons. He reminds the pupils of the archaeologist's theory they discussed earlier, that the inhabitants abandoned the village for some unknown reason. Christian asks the pupils for their hypothesis as to why the Vikings abandoned the village. Several of the boys are engaged in the topic, but the girls are not to the same extent. Christian describes that the archaeologists found skeletons of a girl and a boy in a grave and some of the pupils showed interest in the topic.

> Per: How do archaeologists know that a girl and a boy have died?
> Christian: You look at the skeleton, if you have a skeleton you can look at it and then you see ...
> Per: But how?
> Christian: On the hips, among other things. They are different for girls and boys.

Christian suggests illness, attack from other groups and several other alternatives and a girl, Amina, suggests cancer, another girl, Ria, says anorexia. During the break after the lesson, some girls start talking to me, asking questions about anorexia, describing they are scared they will get anorexia. Amina says she is scared that her mother will catch it because she often talks about diets. When I asked Christian about it later, he explained that they recently talked about anorexia in class. The lesson concerned Vikings and archaeology, and several of the boys expressed interest in the topic, but the girls brought in a topic that engaged them more than Vikings and continued

to talk about it during the break (Field notes 20-05-14). This could have been a possibility to support pupils' meaning-making by responding to the girls' interests (Dewey, 1938), given that creativity in the area of art is mediated through the choices made by the participants (Rasmussen, 2001).

Christian formulated the problem the pupils were to investigate through their dramatizations: "Why was the Viking village abandoned?" Christian summed up the different archaeological theories previously presented and referred to the collage of 'The Viking Village' the pupils created together with Ingrid during another lesson. Christian reminds the pupils of Gunne, who is the chief in the narrative, and underscores that since Gunne is the chief and makes the decisions in the village, he must therefore be part of the scene the pupils perform. The impetus for working with the Viking theme from the schooling perspective was for the pupils to gain knowledge in the subject of History. This way, drama was related to qualification (Biesta, 2011) and not taking time from curricula-related content (Piasecka, 2016).

The pupils were not allowed to choose whom to work with, and they were sent off to find spaces in the hall and around their classroom to prepare their scenes, which should describe their theory of why the Viking village was abandoned. Christian's approach to forming of groups can be related to the 'socialization' dimension (Biesta, 2011). The pupils were expected to be able to work with anyone in the class, but at the same time he avoided putting some pupils he knew had trouble collaborating in the same group. Fleming addresses this issue in relation to the maturity of the group, the structure of the lesson and the relevance of the content (2011). The pupils' ability to collaborate can be discussed in relation to agency and development of responsibility for one's artistic product. In terms of progression, it can be argued that other ways of dividing into groups could have been explored since the pupils had participated in drama lessons for one year at this point. Further, forming groups out of common interests and working with chosen classmates can support engagement in artistic and meaning-making process. On the other hand, there is the risk that some pupils will be left out.

What I saw when I observed the different groups working is what several of the pupils referred to afterwards; a difficult thing in drama is “how to get started” and “how to collaborate” (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Fleming, 2011). I noted “I recognize what the pupils struggle with when preparing a scene; some are passive and shy, some are fooling around, some are angry and telling classmates to focus on the assignment and some are enthusiastically engaged in a creative process” (Field notes, 20-05-14). Nevertheless, the fact that the drama lesson was done with the whole class and it was sent away to spaces around the classroom, that all the pupils participated and all the groups presented a scene, in a serious way, in the drama room, was something Christian in the beginning of the project considered impossible.

A chair as a semiotic resource

In the following two sections, I refer to two of the scenes that pupils performed in ‘The Viking Village’ lesson, which, for my part, was the last occasion of my fieldwork. In my analysis of the two scenes, I utilize multimodal theory and what Kress and Van Leeuwen denote as strata: discourse, design, production and distribution (2001).

After the lesson introduction, I observed a group of three pupils, Alice, Linn and Jim, who struggled with their scene. Jim is sitting on a chair in the corner, saying nothing; he seems uncomfortable. Alice and Linn are standing talking quietly at the side. Drawn from Fleming, lack of motivation is not necessarily a reason when a pupil struggles in their drama work: often it is due to the inability to translate ideas to dramatic action (Fleming, 2011). I ask them some questions in order to support their process, Jim says he wants to play the part of Gunne, the chief, and the girls eventually accept that. Drawn from Kress and Van Leeuwen (2001), the pupils, as embedded in ‘discourse’, intuitively negotiated how they could carry out their scene preserving the ‘discursive order’ among them. In my interpretation, Jim’s request to play the part of the chief made it possible for him to participate in the drama, yet remain in a ‘safe power position’ in relation to the two girls. When the fifteen minutes to prepare were up, and it was time to gather in the drama room, Jim was the last person to come in the corridor and he brought his chair from the classroom. The chair is quite heavy and the drama room is placed at the other side of the

school, so it would have taken a big effort to bring it. I remind him there are chairs in the drama room, but he ignores me and continues to drag his chair. As we approach the drama room, it strikes me that his chair is higher than a regular chair and that he maybe wants to use it as a throne in the role as the chief, Gunne. Entering the Drama room, I note a piece of red fabric lying in a corner and I ask Jim, "Would you like to use this?" as an investigation of how he would respond to this resource. He immediately accepts the offer and places the red fabric on his chair, as I predicted, to emphasize that he is the chief sitting on his throne.

By bringing his chair, Jim made a decision on 'design', which relates to content as well as expression in their scene (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Jim used the chair as a semiotic recourse, which is "a means to realise discourse in the context of a given communication situation" (p. 5). Besides the strata's discourse and design, production in this thesis refers to the performance and the acting (3.6), namely, the articulation of the semiotic event and organization of expressions (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Jim is sitting on his throne by a wall, Linn and Alice are sitting on chairs some distance away, milking cows discussing the terrible news of a plague. They oscillate between being in-role and out-of-role, their hand movements when milking the cows are rather mechanical. Nevertheless, they present a setting in which they are sisters doing their daily work, worrying about the threat of the plague.

After a while, Linn feels sick and falls down on the floor. Alice fruitlessly tries to wake her up, and then hurries to ask the chief Gunne for help. He is dismissive though and just tells her, "There is nothing I can do about it". The scene ends as Alice mourns her sister. Their 'production' featured the use of chairs, a piece of red fabric, dialogue, movements of milking cows, the voice of someone feeling sick, falling down from a chair, and approaching the chief sitting on his throne some distance away, which was enough to 'distribute' a short story to the audience (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001). Even though they planned the scene, it was to some extent an improvisation in which they performed their interpretation of how the Viking village was abandoned. Metaxis was not achieved in the sense that the pupils "belonged completely and simultaneously to two different autonomous worlds; the image of reality and the reality of the image" (Boal, 1995, p.

43). But despite their shyness and the fragility in their acting, they were all serious in their attempt to perform their interpretation of the assignment.

Gunna, the female chief

A group of three girls performed their interpretation of what caused the abandoning of the village. The scene started with Moira sitting on a chair, Lena sitting on the floor beside the chair, and Agnes lying on the floor a couple of meters away from them. Moira played the part of the chief, and the girls changed the chief's name from male to female; Gunne to Gunna, as the last letter in the name indicates gender in Swedish. Their initiative, which they did without comment, marked a step away from the discursive order (Foucault, 1980), in which the chief is a male, and can also be interpreted as an act of subjectification as they made the narrative 'their own' (Biesta, 2011). As Kress and Van Leeuwen point out, "Discourses not only provide versions of who does what, when and where, they add evaluations, interpretations and arguments to these versions" (2001, p. 15).

The scene starts with Agnes coughing. Lena moves in front of Gunna, sitting on her bent knees with her hands in her lap. She looks at Gunna with an obedient facial expression looking up in Gunna's face who looks down on her. Viewing them from a holistic perspective, we can see the girls "produce meaning" using their bodies to set the scene, communicating relations of power and vulnerability, and we get a sense of their thinking, feelings and learning which they manifest in physical form (Franks, 2015, p. 313).

Lena starts to say something but Gunna interrupts her

> Gunna: I command you to go picking berries in the woods.
> Lena: Okay, I will do the best I can.

She steps away a couple of meters at the side and starts to gather imaginary berries and put them in an imaginary basket. While doing so, Agnes is coughing again. Lena approaches Agnes

> Lena: What happened? What is going on?

Agnes: I've been poisoned [coughs].
Lena: Oh, what's your name?
Agnes: Agnes.
Lena: My name is Lena… I have also been sick… my mummy took care of me when I was little… look I've got some bread.
Agnes: Thank you.
Lena: Here, take my jacket as well. It's freezing cold… I'll be back.

Lena puts an imaginary jacket over Agnes' shoulders, and Agnes puts the hood of her real sweater over her head. Lena runs back to the spot where she picked the berries, takes the basket and brings them to Gunna.

It is clear that the girls collaboratively agreed on a design for their scene and rehearsed it, as they appear confident in what to do and say. By the design of their scene and the particular way of combining the semiotic resources (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001), they established a setting in which they communicate that Lena is an obedient servant (sitting on the floor) to the chief, Gunna (sitting on a chair), who commands Lena out in the woods. In the woods encountering the sick girl, Lena is very empathetic to her.

Lena: I brought you the berries you wanted… can I have some more bread since I worked so hard?
Gunna: Hmm… alright then, just for this once.

Lena takes a few steps to the side, out of sight of Gunna, opens an imaginary box and collects some bread and runs back to Agnes.

Lena: Hi, look here is some bread… it took some time, sorry.
Agnes: It's okay (she eats). Here, you take some.
Lena: Thank you… I can ask the queen Gunna if she can help you... come.

They approach Gunna

Gunna: What is this?

She straightened her arm with palm up, towards Agnes.

Lena: She is sick. I found her in the woods… it's a little girl. Her name is Agnes, but she knows nothing more… can she sleep here?
Gunna: It looks bad… but okay.

Lena introduces a dramatic tension by telling Gunna a lie, and not that she aimed to give the bread to the sick girl. The girls transpose the narrative into a plot by which they show that they have a sense of dramatic form. They further extend the tension as Gunna reinforces her power position by an authoritarian question, tone of voice and gesture and pauses before allowing Agnes to stay (Fleming, 2011).

Lena and Agnes lay down some distance away. Gunna lays down beside her throne. After a while (presumably the next day), Lena as well as Agnes are coughing.

Lena: I feel nauseous.
Gunna: (approaches her) How are you?
Lena: I think I have been infected by her.

Gunna fetches something to drink for both of them.

Gunna: I decide that we have to leave this place. Healthy persons must follow me, but those who are sick have to stay.

Lena is falling down, Agnes stretches out her hand towards Gunna (palm down), who hesitates but takes her hand. But Agnes lets go of her hand and falls down. Gunna sits down on her throne and the two girls lie on the floor.

The end of the scene is moving, as the girls communicate 'belief' through their bodies and interaction with each other and the engagement in their roles. Gunna communicates her ambiguity of not knowing quite how to handle the situation as she expresses authority by announcing that "healthy persons have to follow me…" and at the same time empathy by stretching out her hand and then sits down with a helpless expression in her face. The girls' performance articulates their choices of semiotic resources and thereby into a production of a

perceivable form, by which they create meaning of an imaginary historical event (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001).

Fleming points out that the drama teacher needs to find a balance when giving the pupils an assignment. On the one hand, not giving over-intrusive directions which may prevent pupils' creativity and agency, and on the other, not assume that drama or playing is children's 'natural activity' and therefore leave them to their own devices (Fleming, 2011). Christian's way of structuring the drama lesson and framing the assignment was a result of his learning process working with and learning from Ingrid. Before the lesson, Christian was concerned that the pupils' performances would contain only "fighting and running around" (Field notes, 20-05-14) which previously was a certain ingredient in many of their scenes and can be described as a form of discourse. However, he refrained from pointing out to the pupils that he would prefer certain interpretations of the assignment before others, which risks being a hidden use of teacher-power or a conveying pedagogy rather than 'living-through' drama (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009). The pupils showed they were able to distance themselves from their own 'drama-discourse' and explore a widened way of expressing themselves (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001), which Christian underlined afterwards that he was positively surprised by (Field notes, 20-05-14).

A reflective talk

When the last group finished their scene, we all sat down in a circle to reflect on the events. I videotaped the discussion, but pointed the camera to the floor in order for the pupils not to be disturbed by the camera. As a result, I am not sure who said what, and therefore, I have numbered the pupils in this section.

Christian: What do you think was difficult?
Pupil 1: To rehearse.
Christian: Is it the collaborative work you find difficult? (several pupils say "yes")
Pupil 2: And there are so many ideas.
Christian: Yes alright…
Pupil 1: And we make changes all the time.

The pupils confirmed what Berggraf Sæbø describes in her research – that a common reason for when pupils do not appreciate drama is that the collaborative work is challenging and often causes frustration (2009).

> Christian: Yes, okay, you changed your mind… If you think back about all the things you've done with Ingrid, do you feel anything has become easier?
> Pupil 4: What do you mean?
> Christian: When you are creating scenes and then perform them.
> Several pupils say "yes" and "it's fun".
> Anneli: How do you go about it when you have many different ideas… how do you make it work?
> Pupil 5: If someone in the group says, 'Let's do it like this, and another says, no, let's do it like that', then you can put the pieces together and make one play…
> Pupil 4: We did so because she wanted to […] find me in the woods, but I said 'no', then I suggested something else…
> Anneli: So, you told each other your ideas, and then you combined them.
> Pupil 4: Yes, so that not one person would tell the whole story.
> Pupil 2: We had quite the same ideas as we rehearsed the first time, and then the second time, we made up some new things… he said, 'What are you doing?' and then I made something up
> Anneli: So, you improvised…

Several of the pupils agreed that they improvised both during rehearsal and during the performance. Some of the pupils worked out a strategy for their collaborative work and felt confident enough to improvise in front of an audience. Their motivation to 'do theatre' helped them to overcome their disagreements and describes their need to be active in their learning and meaning-making processes (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009).

> Pupil 4: Something I find a bit strange is… sometimes it's hard to know when it's finished. I want it to be like… it stops and everyone is quiet, otherwise, one doesn't know when it's finished.

This was an unusual comment from a pupil and concerned a specific aspect, and a sign of progression in this pupil's learning in drama as a subject. During a break the same day, another girl talks enthusiastically about one of her classmates who is normally very quiet in class, but during their own improvisational work with a scene, the classmate talks "loud and clear" when

she is “in the role” (Field notes, 20-05-14). To talk loud enough so that classmates and the audience can hear what is being said is often an issue in drama practice, and the example describes that pupils recognize development ‘in drama’. As Fleming points out, if drama is to be taught as a separate subject, the progression needs to be described in its own subject-specific criteria, and further, it is the pupil’s progress in drama that needs to be described (2011).

> Anneli: Can I ask you what you think about your choice that the plague was the reason for the village to be abandoned… do you think there are similar illness in our time… contagious and dangerous illnesses…?
> Pupil 2: I heard that sometime there was an illness in Venice, and they put bricks in people’s mouths because they were biting others.
> Anneli: That sounds like it could have been rabies… do you remember some time ago there was a very contagious influenza, it was called the bird-flu or the pig-flu…

By bringing back the assignment into the conversation, I wanted to investigate to what extent they referred to that during their work with their scenes because, initially, they did not reply to that. But as I referred to something, they possibly had some experience of, several of the pupils responded and described they were sick, did or did not vaccinate, someone was afraid of being infected by a classmate and so on (they interrupted each other and talked at the same time). The lesson started as quite a traditional introduction to a history lesson (even though part of a process drama); nevertheless, some of the girls suggested that cancer or anorexia could have been a reason for the abandoning of the village which could have been a possibility to integrate the pupils’ engagement and deepen the work (Dewey, 1938). The example describes the need to connect the practice to the pupils’ experiences as part of the lesson structure (Fleming, 2011).

> Anneli: So, what is the difference between today and the time when Vikings lived, if a contagious illness were spreading?
> Pupil 4: Today, there is medicine.
> Pupil 5: Can we go and eat now?

As the last comments reveal, the group was getting tired and hungry, and a structured reception of the scenes was not possible to follow through with, as I had hoped. The pupils’ perception of the Viking theme was diverse in the group. In the questionnaire (20-05-14), three pupils

mentioned “Vikings” as what they remember the best from drama lessons (not surprisingly, as it was the last theme in the project). One girl expressively wrote that they should never again work with Vikings or anything of the sort in drama lessons. She was very insistent that they should continue to work with drama, but that it should be “fun drama” instead, which underscores the importance of engaging the whole group when initiating a process drama. Seven pupils mentioned ‘The Mysterious Man’ as the drama they remembered the best, even though this was done early in the project. This drama gave the pupils the opportunity to “do theatre”, to perform the same scene twice for classmates, and to use costumes and props. Also, Ingrid took pictures and shared with the pupils. Overall, this probably contributed to what many of the pupils described as the work they remembered the best. Common to the process dramas the pupils liked best, were that they built on the pretext intended for process drama and contained evoking mysteries. The pupils’ response to the different themes implies that professionally prepared process dramas contain factors that support pupils’ engagement and learning.

5.6 Teachers’ and drama pedagogues’ learning

Anna and Rachel explained several times during the project how they appreciated working with and learning from each other. They agreed there were challenges during every drama lesson related to social interplay and potential turmoil, but Anna underlined the importance of cooperating with a professional drama pedagogue and that she could identify Rachel’s competence to lead process drama, which was a method new to Anna. As a teacher, Anna was prepared to explore new ways of working and eager to learn from Rachel. Rachel, on her behalf, underlined that she learned a lot about structuring lessons, communicating with children, and giving instructions in a clear way. Rachel stated that working with Anna improved her own work with theatre groups at the culture centre. At the end of the autumn term, I asked how they would describe the progression of their work (Interview, 10-12-13):

> Rachel: I would say that drama moved into the classroom, and the classroom moved into the drama room.
> Anna: Yes, when we started the project, drama for me was to look for exercises, and I collected a whole bunch in a binder... ‘Well, now I have ten exercises. Now I know

> what to do when we are having drama' (...) and now when I think of drama, I don't think like that. I've thrown it away because I feel like drama is something we do based on what we're working with in different subjects.

Anna and Rachel both considered their collaboration as 'further training' and that the teaching of Swedish and drama fertilized one another and gave them, as well the pupils, important experiences. Anna described how she initially had the impression that drama was all about doing games and exercises, while at the end of the semester, she understood that drama can be integrated into other subjects. Anna and Rachel were dedicated in their attempt to explore drama even though it implied taking risks. They found a way of supporting each other so one of them could focus on facilitating the process drama with the group, and the other took care of the pupils who needed extra support. Anna commented (Interview, 10-12-13):

> …then I see Rachel and her enormous competence, and I understand that I will never reach that… but now, I have the opportunity to see how one can do and how one can think…

Anna and Rachel agreed there was a visible progression in their collaborative work and in the pupils' engagement. The progression was to a large extent related to their growing understanding of process drama, which created coherence for them and for the pupils.

Their ongoing process can be related to an exploration and merging of learning in and learning through drama (Fleming, 2012, p. 68), as an objective was to support the pupils' learning in Swedish but without the pressure of measurement and an opportunity to explore drama as a subject. By working with process drama, the connection between drama and teaching Swedish became clearer, and the pupils developed their ability in drama as an aesthetic subject by a growing understanding of the structure of stories and storytelling. During this process, the pupils practiced Swedish in a functionalized way, which diminished the threshold for pupils when writing and asking about words they did not understand. Anna and Rachel describe the 'ebb and flow' in their work (Interview, 10-12-13):

> Anneli: Is there something you have been surprised by this semester?

> Anna: Sometimes one stops and thinks, 'What is happening now? Why did this work so well? And why did that not work at all? It seemed so good when I was thinking about it and made plans.
> Rachel: And the other way around – this can go totally wrong, and then it just works really well, and it is difficult to know why.
> Anna: Yes, that kind of surprise happens.
> Rachel: I think one gets surprised every time… it is not only the children that get 'pirriga'.
> Anneli: Maybe that's why many teachers hesitate to implement drama?
> Rachel: That's the thing... as for the kids... it's this moment of insecurity, and that's what makes it so exciting.
> Anna: I think like a teacher when I'm in the classroom, 'Now I'm going to do this, and it can lead this way or that way'. I feel safe, but I did not feel that security when I was going to the drama room in the beginning. Now, I can go to the drama room and feel I have a pretty safe role.

Compared to the other teachers, Christian experienced more explicit tensions at the border of schooling and the ecotone, given that the school situation changes in Grade Four. Generally, play is more often integrated in the teaching in Grades One and Two, which the teachers confirmed. Further, in Grade Four, more teachers are involved, which made it difficult to change the timetable and be flexible about the teaching. He needed to involve other teachers who were not taking part in the project. When I asked Christian if he felt there was a difference in his and Ingrid's professional roles when working with drama, he commented (Interview, 09-12-13),

> It has been exciting and fun working with Ingrid, working with someone who is good at this. Ingrid is very good in catching up on what happens and spins on that next week, and the children recognize that.

He also described his ambivalence:

> As a teacher, I sometimes feel school is very goal-oriented... 'Oh well, we'll spend an hour a week with drama, but is it worthwhile?' Sometimes I end up in a quagmire, I think.

At the initial phase of the project, Ingrid and Christian had a problem finding the time to meet in order to get to know each other and to plan their collaborative work. Moreover, they both

described the first drama lessons in Grade Four as ‘chaotic’, which underscored their challenge. As the principal engaged to support them to find time to plan their joint lessons, their collaboration developed. Ingrid explained at the end of the project (Interview, 20-05-14):

> Christian and I worked well together. His classroom authority and that the children were used to him as their leader, made me understand which moments were best to hand over to him. It could, for example, be that I asked him to divide the pupils into groups

Christian commented on his own learning process (Interview, 09-12-13):

> I feel that my attitude or what it is ... during drama lessons, the frames get a little bit wider…

At the end of the project, Christian described an important insight he made about himself (Interview, 22-05-14). He described that he had realized that he had to "let go" of his perceptions of how the pupils should behave and act during drama class. He admitted having a different perspective from Ingrid, that they looked upon the events with “different glasses”. However, when he learned to "let it be", he could be more relaxed and the pupils became more engaged in the stories they worked with, and some of the problems solved themselves.

When asked, Christian stated there are arguments for continuing to work with drama after the project, "A school like this needs to work with drama [referring to the fact that most of the pupils have a foreign background]. He suggested that the stories in the process drama created "a common scene, a common ground, having something to talk about". He stated that drama can be important for integration and communication. The statement can be interpreted as an assumption that pupils with a foreign background have a greater need to work with drama than others. This aspect remained un-problematized in the concluding interviews with the teachers, and when I asked about it, everyone regretted the fact that the school was segregated, but saw no indications of change in society.

Christian was convinced at the beginning of the project that it would be impossible to carry out a drama lesson with the whole group. But by the end of the project, he could summarize that it was

indeed possible, and most of his pupils were deeply engaged in the stories. Christian's way of expressing himself about drama practice changed from focusing on organizational and social discourse to a learning discourse where his own learning was one of the most important insights of the project.

6. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS: ART

The last chapter on results addresses the habitat of art, which is the third part of the metaphorical model Schooling–Ecotone–Art employed in this thesis. The chapter is less comprehensive than the previous two, because the habitat of art was the least explored in the project and in my study. The chapter relates to the research question, *What kind of meaning-making evolves when pupils are allowed to express themselves in drama?* – or what Rasmussen calls 'perspectivating' in the aesthetic practice (2001). The thesis aims to illuminate the diversity within drama, and the concept of art as a habitat is employed to underscore the explorative and meaning-making aspects and conditions for pupils' agency in creative practice in school.

Art, as employed in this thesis, entails prioritizing artistic processes and expressions over content and form framed by school subjects, classrooms and timetables. It opens up pupils' creativity and agency, in which their understanding, interests and questions are at the fore. It discusses meaning-making as a broader perspective than learning, especially 'efficient learning' as part of the rationalistic, measurement culture in current educational discourse (Biesta, 2011). Moving towards art further illuminates pupils' agency and the way it challenges schooling as well as ecotone. The art habitat underlines the importance of what Biesta denotes as subjectification (2011), which supports the individual pupil to process and express her or his unique person. The chapter discusses the need for primary school to acknowledge the dimension of subjectification, which underscores the necessity of addressing intercultural perspectives and identity. In the school project, the conditions for the drama team and the pupils were narrow in terms of exploring the area of art, since the project was situated within a project funded by the municipality and related to curriculum. The examples presented in this chapter describe glimpses of events which could be encouraged and developed in order to support pupils' artistic work in drama and serve as discussion for drama practitioners in how to facilitate this work.

6.1 Adnan and Tarek's imaginary travels

In this section, I analyse an event which describes the oscillation between the ecotone and the art habitats. The episode describes how, after a drama lesson, I collaborated with two boys in second grade in order to support them to create a scene and perform it to their classmates. The event was audio recorded and is complemented with field notes. Stories and themes related to the curriculum and teaching in Swedish were processed during drama lessons, but Anna and Rachel were also interested in working with group dynamics and the pupils' ability to cope with conflict. In relation to this, we agreed to introduce the concept of 'compromising' to the pupils in Grade Two. The episode analysed in this section unfolds during a drama lesson in which this was the theme. At this point, I visited the school several times, staying 4–5 days each time, and the pupils were quite used to me taking part in the lessons and interviewing many of them, for example, the two boys involved in the described event.

I started to translate Adnan's and Tarek's utterances word for word, but, as the boys do not master Swedish, some of the lines became unintelligible. This raises questions about how to support pupils' literacy without disturbing their creativity and motivation for learning. However, several times during this event, when I repeated the lines they themselves created but in a grammatically correct way, they mimicked me the next time they said the line. This can be interpreted as developing their Swedish in a functional way 'through drama' (Fleming, 2003).

During the drama lesson, the pupils were divided into pairs and were asked to create a short scene that described a compromise, which we previously discussed the meaning of. The scenes were then to be shown to classmates. One of the boys, Adnan, soon came in conflict with his partner and rushed out of the room in anger. Several times during drama lessons, Adnan had expressed a strong urge to realize his ideas and imaginary stories. When his classmates did not agree with his ideas, this often resulted in conflict. On this occasion, Rachel and Anna chose to leave Adnan alone and continued the lesson. From experience, they knew he often came back when he calmed down. As the lesson proceeded and Adnan did not return, I asked Anna and Rachel for their consent to talk to Adnan and encourage him to participate, and they agreed. Adnan was sitting outside, still upset, but he agreed to continue to work with the scene on the

condition that he could work with a certain other boy, Tarek, who was not his original partner. I went back to the drama room where the lesson was just finishing, and Anna and Tarek agreed to Adnan's request. Then me, Adnan and Tarek went to find another space to work in. The two boys immediately started planning their scene intensively. Ideas and proposals were flying in the air. We found an empty room, and they promptly bounced up and down and used some items lying on a table, talking incessantly. Adnan's frustration was gone, he seemed happy and engaged.

I experienced a tension between, on the one hand, encouraging the boy's intuitive self-expression, and on the other, directing them to focus on the assignment, which was to explore 'a compromise'. I also felt the need to support their ability to use a dramatic form (Fleming, 2012) so they could perform their scene to their classmates. The boys expressed that they wanted to perform the scene to their classmates, but they soon became 'lost' in the kairos time, and as they surrendered into the creative process, they lost track of chronos time. Thus, I took on the role of facilitating their work so that they could follow the scene through to completion. At the same time, I experienced a dilemma – why was it so important that they showed their scene to their classmates? Why not just support their creative process so that they could have 'an experience' and let "the material runs its course to fulfilment" (Dewey, 1934, p. 36 ff.)? Anyhow, I started to ask them questions in order to make them clarify what they wanted to do to each other.

> Anneli: Adnan and Tarek ... can I hear about your idea?
> Adnan: We need paper.
> Anneli: Why is that?
> Adnan: Because we'll show you.
> Anneli: No, but you can tell me your idea.
> Adnan: Okay, first we will…

My assumption that the boys would have difficulties collaborating and that I needed to establish some structure, caused me to try to organize their creative process. I was conscious that Anna had said that lessons often ended in anger and conflicts on Adnan's behalf, which made him sad, frustrated, and left with unsolved matters. Even though I was aware of the aspects of carnival play (Bergström, 1997; Silfver, 2011; Øksnes, 2013) and chaotic phases in drama processes, I fell back into a controlling role, minding the time schedule and trying to steer them into following

through with a performance for their classmates, as the other pupils did during the lesson. Throughout this event, I struggled with the aspects described by O'Neill, whereby the teacher should not manipulate pupils, but "without the teacher to challenge and extend their ideas it is difficult for children to achieve new insights through Drama" (2006, p. 51). Instead of supporting Adnan's agency in his desire to sketch his idea, I started out simply wanting them to accomplish the task. The drama lesson had been connected to the recurrent theme concerning different aspects of friendship. A few days before the drama lesson, Anna and I enacted a scene where we disagreed about something, but in the end, compromised in order to dramatize the importance of talking and arguing instead of getting physical in a disagreement. The pupils' assignment was to explore the notion of a compromise and create a scene on this theme. This included the challenge to develop an idea using imagination to create an imaginary situation, undergo a collaborative, creative process and then enact it for classmates. It also meant the ability to enter the role of a character and explore perspectives other than one's own. Hence, there were many dimensions of learning going on at the same time.

O'Neill emphasizes the importance of pupils' emotional engagement in drama practice, but as an integrated part of the learning process (2006). In this case, the boys did not have a captivating story to help them frame their ideas, which maybe would have supported their process. Bolton (1984) emphasizes that teachers need to be sensitive to the emotional demands on pupils and that "the notion of 'protection' is not automatically protecting them *from* emotion, but rather to protect them *into* emotion", as emotional engagement supports learning. In this situation, the boys demonstrated constant tension between themselves, which threatened to create open conflict not only in relation to me but also each other, as they showed a strong engagement to follow through with the assignment and a sophisticated ability to negotiate their different ideas. Tarek and Adnan were not particularly interested in the theme of compromising on a conscious level, but they did not lack ideas and stories. They both expressed strong feelings during the process and certainly investigated continuous through-action about what compromising might mean.

As we continued our work, Adnan and Tarek were reluctant to follow my instructions. Here, they continuously move around the room using different items, talking simultaneously, and taking turns to describe a variety of ideas. Then Tarek takes on a role and starts to improvise, but Adnan rejects his idea about how to start the scene.

Tarek: This is coffee, like this ...
Adnan: No, that's just rubbish ...
Anneli: But you were supposed to ...
Tarek: This is coffee ... or ... like this.

The boys discuss intensely what items they will use in their scene. They tear and drag things around. The discharge of feelings and energy risks hindering their narrative and their expressions, and there is no sense of dramatic form (Fleming, 2011). Tarek persists. He tries again, and suddenly Adnan gives in to Tarek and lets him get his way.

Tarek: Like this ... would you like some coffee?
Adnan: Yes ... it smells like coffee ...
Adnan: A little more ... [they improvise coffee drinking].
Anneli: Do you remember what the task was?

Now they both take on roles and through improvisation show the ability to collaborate and start to move towards a “grading of structures toward an effective equilibrium so that self-esteem, personal dignity, personal defences […] are never over-challenged" (Bolton, 1984, p. X). The boys ignore me, but my presence reminds them that there is an assignment to be carried out. Drawn from O’Neill, pupils need the teacher to “challenge and extend their ideas” otherwise it is “difficult for children to achieve new insights through drama" (2006, p. 51). The boys improvise and do not outline how the scene should proceed, but both take the initiative to create action and role play and provide feedback to each other's impulses. However, I do not see any attempt to relate the scene to the theme of ‘compromising’, and I act on my impulse to intervene. However, I do understand that they are deeply engaged and constantly negotiating. I am aware of ‘the gap’ in my communication with them (Biesta, 2004) – they are immersed in their creative

process and I am standing outside. However, the gap is a potential for learning generated by the gap between the educator and the learner through the interaction between parties (Biesta, 2004).

> Tarek: No. Wait, wait.
> Anneli: Like this ...
> Tarek: No. Wait, wait, wait ... check this out – we have nothing… our house is destroyed ... we have nothing, not even the coffee. We haven't bought anything ...

Tarek changes his voice and develops his character and starts to act on an idea for a scene. Adnan accepts Tarek's initiative, and the scene develops. Tarek has an idea for a story. He repeats the same actions and the same lines, showing how he wants the scene to start, and it is important to him that it does just so.

> Tarek: Wait, wait, wait. We have only ten crowns, and this cost ten crowns ... out of money ... We even ran out of coffee.
> Adnan: Shouldn't we go to Africa ... and see if we can find a treasure or something ... or something valuable?
> Tarek: But then came…
> Anneli: We have ...
> Tarek: I only have three clothes ...

Adnan accepts Tarek's idea and their interplay continues to develop. They switch back and forth between being in-role, giving each other directions, negotiating with me, and going back into their roles. They both have an urge to imagine, to express something, and a wish to complete the scene and perform it for their classmates. At the same time, their playing seems enjoyable in itself. The story revolves around two persons who, for some reason, do not have any money, their house is destroyed, and Tarek states that he has only "three clothes". He thus introduces a dramatic conflict. Tarek implies that they are adults. They drink coffee, and that is what adults do. Adnan offers an opportunity for the story to develop by suggesting that they should "go to Africa". They are poor and should travel to another country in search of something valuable. Related to this idea, the boys ask me to fetch a golden trophy from their classroom that their class won in a competition. I do so, aware of the risk that it can break. As their process is still chaotic, I struggle with how to support them in their work and cannot not help myself from intervening again:

Anneli: But do you remember…? Tarek do you remember what your assignment is? You should give each other suggestions, and the other person would say no to the proposal…
Tarek: Do we have to do that?
Anneli: Yes, this is the assignment... so listen, you are going to do a short scene about compromising, where you should start with what you could not agree on, and then it ends when…

Adnan's and Tarek's dramatization is not characterized by traditional mimesis, in the sense of imitating or repeating reality. Rather, they express a vivid and original scene driven by their personal need to explore themes important for themselves and to make meaning out of their own life experiences. From a culture–aesthetic perspective, the forming of the scene offers Adnan and Tarek a new experience, which they could process and re-process into new representations, that is, mimesis as meaning-making (Rasmussen, 2001). In the back of my mind, I thought of what Anna and Rachel stressed as important in their practice – to formulate a clear task to the pupils and to repeat instructions several times. But Tarek interrupted me, he was upset and did not want me to interfere. In doing so, he demonstrated his resistance to my attempt to use my adult-teacher power. Here I stepped out of my role as a researcher and fell into the role of a teacher, focusing on the assignment, even though there were really no limits or demands required in this specific situation. The drama lesson was finished, the other pupils had gone back to the classroom, and the two boys were involved in a creative process in which they were content with their own work and collaboration. However, our negotiation on power over their scene was also productive, as it forced them to argue for their ideas and formulate to each other what they were doing (Foucault, 1980). Tarek and Adnan ignore me. However, as they continue their work, they express a new level of concentration.

Tarek: You say like this. You say like this ...
Adnan: We go to Kurdistan.
Tarek: Nah, England.
Adnan: Nah, there are no treasures.
Tarek: Then I say Africa.
Anneli: But wait, where are your parents from?

Adnan: Kurdistan.
Tarek: Kurdistan.
Anneli: You could…
Tarek: No, no, no, we'll go to Africa. We want that.
Anneli: But ... there must be some order in the theatre. Samir, you need to say the same thing every time ... please sit down.

I was back in the researcher's role. Aware that both boys' families come from Kurdistan, and that Adnan's family was possibly moving back there, I reacted impulsively when Adnan brings Kurdistan into the story. I thought it could be important on behalf of their meaning-making process, and due to cultural background in relation to their everyday life at school. But Tarek again immediately signalled to me not to interfere. He did not want to integrate Kurdistan into the story. The boys continue to rehearse their scene, trying to meet my requirements to comply with the task. However, they do not have much interest in developing the verbal part of the scene, and everything is very intense in a physical way.

Tarek: No, you should say like this…
Adnan: And then we'll take a little coffee.
Tarek: Yes, we did and then ... and then you say, "Let's go to England!"
Adnan: No, there… there is no treasure there, but I know a place where there are many treasures… Africa.

At this stage, I felt responsible for wrapping up the session, as I knew that Anna was waiting in the classroom for us to come back. However, I was also aware that a learning curve is not identical for all pupils but rather implies a 'personal signature', and I wanted to support that at the same time (Eisner, 2002). The boys still had not agreed on how to end the scene, but nevertheless made an attempt to go back to the classroom to perform their scene.

Anneli: Then you can pretend that you go to Africa and we will hide this [the trophy], and when you come to Africa, you find it…
Tarek: I know, say like this ... Africa, say that we should go to Africa.
Anneli: But we have to hide it … 'yes, we are getting rich...'
Anneli: Then you can pretend you go to Africa. So, we hide it here, and when you go to Africa, you find it…

Adnan: No, we are digging at one place and we cannot find it, and then another place, then a third time, we find it…
Anneli: But do you remember what Anna said? It should be a short scene.
Tarek: Yes… it was a guy, he had a car, so here he came ... no, we said, this was a taxi.
Anneli: Don't add new things. You have to decide so you will know exactly what to do and exactly what to say…
Tarek: We saw an animal ... sort of a horse, two horses.
Anneli: But then it will be too long I think ...
Tarek: No, it will just be tick tick, tick, tick, so we are done, then we dig ...
Anneli: You get to practice once again now, and say exactly what you are going to say.
Tarek: Okay.
Adnan: Yes.
Tarek: Would you like some coffee? [They start the scene again].

Everything happened very quickly, and it was difficult to see, hear, and understand what they were doing. In order to dramatize that they were travelling, looking for the treasure, I suggested they should move in a circle around the room. I knew I was interfering and that I was pushing them, but I aimed to support them in how to be prepared when presenting their scene to their classmates, as this would be part of their learning 'in drama' as well as their learning 'through drama' in this process and as learning and meaning-making occur on several levels at the same time. The learning objects in this situation concern completing a task given by the teacher, collaborate in pairs, formulate an idea and form a scene containing dramatic tension and investigating what a compromise means. 'In drama', they have processed how to build characters, formulate lines, and create an understandable narrative, and 'through drama', the boys have practiced negotiating in Swedish with each other and with me to create a scenario, which involves two persons wanting to travel to different countries, arguing about it, and then eventually agreeing.

In the continuing work, I try to support them in how to dramatize that it takes time to "go to Africa".

Anneli: When you ride… look here ... like this ... it takes a long time to go to Africa… then you arrive, and then you can start digging, okay?

Tarek: Yes.
Anneli: Start from the beginning again.
Tarek: No.
Anneli: Start from the beginning again.
Tarek: Okay then.
Anneli: Just as it should be.
Adnan: Wait, wait, and after, when I find it, I'll keep it. "It's mine", and he just [points to Tarek]. "No, that's mine" and after that, no, mine, mine, mine, and after that ... [he shows that it ends by them sharing the trophy].

Adnan suggested they could dramatize a conflict, and it is a situation almost identical to that which arose in the lesson, which resulted in his outburst in the classroom. At first, Tarek did not agree to his idea. Adnan was more anxious to dramatize this aspect than Tarek was. Tarek was interested in developing other ideas in the story. Given that the task was to explore the concept of 'compromise' and that the lack of compromising caused Adnan to burst out of the classroom in the first place, it seemed crucial to support Adnan's idea.

Tarek: Okay, we fight like this since we ride back, and then now have a trophy. "We are rich".
Anneli: Okay, but then I think it will have to stop here, and you must be really, really, really, really, careful with the trophy, in slow motion, "No, that's mine", and then you end on "We have it together".
Tarek: And then we have got a trophy. "We are rich", and it's over.

The boys rehearse their scene again from beginning to end. They engage in their roles and are very committed. When they go to Africa to find the treasure, it becomes very intense, as both boys want to hold the 'treasure'. The line between imagination and reality is very thin. They are holding it at the same time and pulling it toward themselves saying, "It's mine".

Anneli: You must not drop it to the floor… what if you break the trophy? ... you have to be careful – just pretend that "it's mine. No, it's mine ..." three times, and then stop. They continue their negotiation.
Tarek: Four times… I tell you what, "It's mine".
Adnan: But couldn't it be for us together?
Tarek: We'll fight first [attempts a fictional fight].

Anneli: No, do not fight. Absolutely not.
Tarek: It's mine.
Adnan: It's mine.
Tarek: It's mine.
Adnan: It's mine.
Anneli: And so you stop.
Adnan: Can't we have it together? ... we're having it together [Tarek takes the trophy].
Tare: Okay, let's go, let's go.

Everything was very intense, and I feared that it would turn into a real conflict. I was also concerned that the trophy would break. It was important to Adnan that they both win the trophy. They continued to explore how to work through the fictitious disagreement. I interpreted the intense situation as they struggled to stay in the 'as if' dimension as being able to distinguish themselves from their role characters. In doing so, they also explored the limits of arguing, yet not ending up in a physical fight.

They rehearse their scene once again, and we went to the classroom. I was nervous because I initiated the whole event and allowed them to use the trophy. I was aware that many things could go wrong. They could start to fight for real or the class trophy could be broken. In addition, I was not aware of what Anna was doing in the classroom with the other pupils, and perhaps we will disturb them. Tarek and Adnan are deeply engaged and eager to perform their scene. This is important for them. We knock on the door, and Anna pauses her lecture to invite the boys in to perform their scene. Everything goes according to 'script', and they play their roles with great enthusiasm and concentration, even moving slowly enough for their classmates to understand what is happening. They go through with the 'fight' about the trophy in the end without any mishap. The class looks kindly upon the performance and applauds when it is over. The boys sit down at their desks, and the lesson continues – their body language and facial expressions show that they are content with their work.

Drawing on Dewey (1934), Adnan and Tarek had *an* experience, that is, a process of consummation and not cessation, which does not easily fit into a timetable. As Dewey states, a fulfilled experience is not possible without an aesthetic quality, and its enemies are not practical

or intellectual but rather submission to convention, rigidity and slackness (Dewey, 1934, p. 43). In this case, I suggest that Anna and Rachel acknowledge the pupils' need to follow through with the experience, giving them the opportunity to enter the art habitat by being prepared to set schooling as well as ecotone aside. My analysis suggests that Anna disregarded a rationalistic and effective approach to her teaching (Biesta, 2006, 2011). She was willing to allow an opportunity for artistic work even though it 'disturbed' her teaching. She overlooked expectations for pupils to be obedient in every aspect, allowing a pupil who did not follow the drama contract or listen to her instructions to step outside the schedule. Although the drama lesson was finished, Adnan and Tarek were able to continue their work and create a scene. Anna also allowed the two pupils to interrupt the next lesson so they could perform their scene and also to use the class trophy as a prop. Anna's flexibility, in my interpretation, reflects that she acknowledged the meaning-making potential for the two boys.

Adnan and Tarek requested agency, and by stepping out from the drama room and freeing themselves from the timetable, they processed topics important for them. As the example from the organisation Creative School shows (2.4), supporting pupils' artistic work creates tensions even when the aim is to support their aesthetic practice in the school context. The event with Adnan and Tarek, showed me that these two boys were able to take responsibility for their agency and creativity, and in the process, they became more 'visible' as persons, which can be interpreted as a subjectification process. This study shows that, as in the example of Room 13, pupils' capacity for creativity and agency is possible to support within the primary school context. It also suggests that it may be possible to let pupils work with drama in a similar way as in Room 13, at every school.

6.2 Interculturality and diversity

I refer to the intercultural perspective in the sense of how to gain a deeper understanding of pupils' lives, questions, and thoughts, and how these relate to the drama practice. Further, I address that the approach towards the intercultural perspective is part of a discursive order.

A premise for the project at Dalhem School was its position in a socio-economically vulnerable area in the city and that Swedish was the second language for most of the pupils. As the project progressed, I became more aware that profound discussions of that fact and its implications for the drama teaching were undeveloped. I realized that I did not process this perspective enough when preparing my fieldwork, and it was not a theme addressed by the principal or teachers in a comprehensive way. The expectations were that drama would relate to teaching Swedish and supporting pupils' creativity and social interplay, but aspects concerning how to encourage pupils to express and process questions concerning culture and identity were absent.

My field notes show that on several occasions, school staff commented on issues in the staff room or in conjunction with drama lessons (see 6.3), related to cultural aspects, for example "the teachers all experienced that some pupils are not used to hear stories or read children's books and one teachers recounts that a pupil asked if it was all true in the story" (Field notes, 29-10-13). In connection with the drama practice, challenges solely related to practical and pedagogical issues were discussed, for example, how to approach pupils who were fasting during Ramadan, as well as other conflicts and misunderstandings. It's important for teachers to understand that the pupils may not be aware of certain common cultural references, for example, stories from the famous Swedish children's author, Astrid Lindgren. Intercultural themes were not, as far as I understood, something processed *together* with the pupils. Drawn from Lahdenperä, a lack of awareness of ethnocentrism risked contributing to immanent norms and remained unproblematized, and, rather than collaborative learning-through-culture, cultural norms are taken for granted and conveyed without questioning (2004).

I noted statements such as "These children don't know how to play", "They don't seem to have faith in their own imagination" (Field notes, 3-10-13), and "A boy in my class told me that he always spends his free time on computer games with lowered curtains" (Field notes, 4-11-13). The comments were expressed out of honest concern for the children, on behalf of the school staff, and aesthetic subjects were viewed as ways of supporting the pupils' ability to play, collaborate, learn and express themselves, but questions of *how* drama could relate to

intercultural aspects and identity were not processed. Several of the teachers experienced that the pupils were confused by fairy tales and stories presented in class, asking if the story was true because "the only book they encountered before is the Koran, and everything in the Koran is considered to be true" (Field notes 29-10-13). Lahdenperä claims that debates concerning intercultural challenges are dominated by language issues when it comes to minority groups and their education (2004). She notes that language teachers as a group tend to process intercultural perspectives in their teaching but argues that all teachers need further training to implement intercultural perspectives in the goal of creating learning environments that are supportive for all pupils (Lahdenperä, 2004).

Drawn from Lahdenperä, meaning-making is an important aspect of creating a good intercultural learning environment, and meaning needs to be related to unconscious assumptions, ideas, values, and emotions which are not easily formulated (2004). The pupils' life experiences and pre-understanding were not seen as resources in the drama practice but rather something to be managed. This lack of awareness does not accurately represent the teacher's values but rather is part of the schooling discourse, and this certainly included myself. However, as a researcher, I had the privilege to stand back and reflect on the process, and as the project proceeded, I became aware of its importance and initiated discussions on how this could be developed.

Stories as impetus for reflective talks

In September (2013), as Ingrid started to collaborate with Betty in Grade One, the first story they worked with was *Snow White*. Ingrid wrote in an email (28-09-19):

> It should be remembered that many of the children do not know the story of Snow White from their cultures! There were several of the children who were really captured and sat completely silent all the time.

A recurrent discussion in the drama team was how to choose stories and whether it is important to choose stories in order to create a common ground from a cultural perspective – stories built on imaginary themes or that deal with realistic problems. Further, it was clear that images were very important when introducing stories and process dramas. Ingrid wrote (28-09-19):

> They liked the map – it became popular, and we could sit and watch it for a while together. It aroused their imagination. The boy who cannot speak Swedish at all sat outside the circle and watched – he did not want to sit in our circle. But when I handed out the map, I gave him one then he came and sat down with us. It was great for him with the symbolic language – then he could understand without being able to speak. I think he is okay getting out of the circle sometimes if he wants to. Sometimes it must be very strange to him what we are doing! And then it may be nice to observe.

Participants in the drama team agreed that the drama lessons created possibilities for newly arrived children who did not know any Swedish at all to be included. Additionally, it created conditions for classmates to interact. The teachers, Anna and Betty, both noted that it seemed to be easier for pupils to ask what different words meant as part of working with stories than during a Swedish lesson in the classroom.

As I became more aware of the intercultural learning environment related to the project, I suggested that the drama team could work with the children's book '*Tummen & Tossingarna'* and I wrote a suggestion for a process drama based on the story.[20] This took place in January 2014, when the drama pedagogues would not be at the school for a couple of weeks. I also encouraged Anna to explore reflective dialogues with the pupils, and relate them to the intercultural theme. After one of these lessons, she asked the pupils about experiences of misunderstandings related to language, and she writes (14-02-14),

> The pupils in the large group had a lot to tell; misunderstandings when ordering pizza and when asked to fetch something and returning with wrong items. The children listened carefully, and we really laughed together.

I was present at one of the lessons when they worked with this process drama. Afterwards, we sat on the floor with a group of six pupils. We talked about what happened in the story, and one of the boys, Tarek, confidently said, "I am Kurdish". I spontaneously asked, "Are you not Swedish as well?" He said, "No, I am Kurdish" and then an engaged dialogue among the pupils arose where some of the pupils agreed with Tarek – they were not Swedish. After a quite long discussion, I

[20] A storybook written by children's writers Inger & Lasse Sandberg on the theme of encountering strangers, published by the Swedish government immigration organization.

asked, “Where do you want to live when you are grownups?” After some silence, which I interpreted as a moment of perplexity (Dewey), the discussion increased again, but now they were more hesitant. Several of them wanted “maybe to live in Sweden”, one of them wanted to live in both countries. After the lesson, Anna commented it was an important discussion, and that she seldom had this kind of dialogue with the children (Field notes, 20-05-14). Two weeks later, she wrote in an email that Tarek, the boy who first brought up the subject, came to her spontaneously and said, “Maybe I am Swedish after all… and by the way – what about Zlatan?”[21] *Tummen & Tossingarna* as process drama was not a success. Perhaps it was too childish for the group. However, it created opportunities for Anna and me to address questions of interculturality, and the pupils became highly engaged in the reflective dialogue.

Holidays

In my dialogue with Grade Three teacher, David, he commented on challenges occurring during the Muslim holiday of Ramadan. Some of the pupils were fasting, which caused them to be hungry and have trouble concentrating, and it raised questions among the other children. This was the first concrete occasion related to drama teaching where I became aware of the importance of addressing the intercultural perspective. I asked if he or other teachers processed these matters together with the pupils, which, to his knowledge, they had not. He invited me to give him feedback in his drama teaching and was interested in ideas of how to develop his work. As he mostly worked with theatre with his pupils, I suggested addressing the question of different traditions and holidays, letting the pupils improvise around that theme, which he thought was a good idea (Field notes 29-10-13).

I participated in the lesson in the drama room where David talked about different kinds of holidays with the pupils, asking them to describe their experiences. The pupils were organized in pairs and given the assignment to talk about different traditions and show examples. I approached two boys who seemed to have difficulties getting started. I asked them what

[21] Zlatan Ibrahimovic is considered Sweden’s best football player of all time. His cultural background is Balkan, and he is a hero for many children, especially with those who have a non-Swedish cultural background.

traditions they knew of and if they wanted to share something about their own holidays. They were both shy and said, “I don’t know” and “nothing special”. After a while, when it seemed like they would not be able to create a scene together, I asked them if they had ever seen fireworks on New Year’s Eve. My question was like opening a tap, they started talking simultaneously and describing that “they used to go outside, and there were a lot of people in the yard lighting fireworks, and it was fun and exciting” (Field notes, 29-20-13). Eventually, they created a scene where they went outside together lighting fireworks that made a lot of noise.

At first, they seemed shy and unwilling to talk about their experiences of traditions and holidays. There can, of course, be many reasons for that: they did not work with improvisation in pairs very often, and they did not know me very well. But my interpretation was that it also had something to do with the unfamiliarity of talking about their experiences outside of the school, of things related to family and cultural identity which were different from the life inside school. David commented that he thought it was an interesting drama lesson, and that some of the pairs during another lesson performed scenes of birthday parties. This can be interpreted as the pupils choosing holidays that they knew would be known and accepted by all the pupils, while some other holidays were more related to feelings of ‘difference’.

A ‘mosque church’

When working with “The Missing Bag”, Ingrid and Christian explored how to negotiate and initiate reflection together with the pupils. Ingrid describes some moments requiring negotiating during the work. One situation concerns when the pupils were asked to decide what kind of profession their character in the process drama was going to have. She clarified before the start that this drama did not need kings, football players, babies or dogs but rather ordinary people living in a village. She commented (email 17-03-14):

> Some had a bit more trouble finding out a "normal" job though, but with a little negotiation, it was resolved. I did, for example, not accept assassin as a profession.

Part of the lesson was to create a joint map on a large paper, where the buildings of the village where created, cut out and glued. The pupils decided where their characters lived and discussed what buildings were in the village. One girl decided that she worked in a mosque and in a shop. Ingrid wrote (17-03-14):

> The religious building got a crescent moon and a cross! The girl had difficulty accepting this, but we argued so convincingly that she accepted. For me, it felt like an important issue. The solution was not to have two religious buildings; instead, the solution was that the believers shared a building. I would really have liked to have been able to stop and talk about this with the whole group. However, the atmosphere was such that it was impossible. There are so many who want attention ... and it's hugely frustrating for everyone involved. It's really not right from the drama pedagogy view of co-creation and democracy. It is not always about getting one's way but that there is room to express feelings and reflect.

The situation possibly created an opportunity for perplexity (Dewey, 1934) as the new idea of combining a church and a mosque was presented.

The perspective of interculturality can be considered as 'the silence' in the discursive order (Foucault, 1993) at Dalhem School. Even though it was always present, it was not spoken about. Delamont argues (2012) there is a risk of approaching pupils as 'problem students', and in segregated schools in which the school staff struggles to support the pupils to learn Swedish, as in Dalhem School, the pupils' lack of understanding, lack of the Swedish cultural heritage and the disruption in the teaching because of Ramadan was seen more as a problem, than a possibility. Even though I hesitated, because I did not want to step away from my role as researcher, but as their coach I dared to suggest different topics in order to create possibilities for reflexivity in relation to interculturality. The story of *Tummen & Tossingarna* led to a profound dialogue with the pupils in Grade Two, which Anna commented was unusual. The improvisation on holidays seemed to open up a window for exploring a sensitive topic and the drama practice created an opportunity to relativize one's own perspectives (Fleming, 2006).

7. CONCLUSIONS

Before I account for the conclusion of my research, a review of the school project "Drama in the teaching" is given, which was a condition of my study. A dialogue with the three core research questions set out in the introduction and the implications of the research are presented. This last chapter closes with concluding remarks on the contribution of this study to drama research.

7.1 The school project

Although interlinked, the project and my research study are two separate things. The school project was well prepared in the sense that the collaboration with the culture centre had begun approximately one year before my study was initiated. The purpose of the project was to implement drama in the teaching, as a subject and as a pedagogical method, while the aim of my study was to critically investigate the implementation process of this work from the perspectives of the teachers, pupils and drama pedagogues. The principal supported the project in relation to the school staff, and the ambition to implement drama in the teaching was high. In many respects, the project was successful: the participating teachers and drama pedagogues explained that the project amounted to further training for them. They reported positive development in the pupils' learning of Swedish and their understanding of aesthetic processes and expressions. The pupils stated that imagination is important and that "doing theatre" is fun and exciting, with several pupils offering the view that drama should be a part of school practice.

However, in terms of the overall objective of the project, which was to implement drama as a continual practice in the teaching, the conclusion must be that it was not fulfilled. The possibility for schools in Sweden to integrate drama as a continuous part of teaching by adopting an 'aesthetic school profile', was initially an objective of the project at Dalhem School. However, at the end of the project, the principal and school staff concluded that this would not be possible. Practical and economic circumstances were the main issues; specifically, the impracticality for the principal to employ professional drama pedagogues paired with the future lack of possibilities for

teachers to be educated in drama education amounted to too many obstacles. It became clear that to implement drama in the teaching, external funding and collaboration with professional drama pedagogues were essential conditions. When the project ended, the funding was expended, and due to staff changes, the drama practice at Dalhem School diminished or disappeared. This implies that although temporary drama projects can serve as important input for teachers and pupils, there appears to be too many obstacles to implement drama as a regular subject or as a regular pedagogical method in the school's current educational circumstances.

7.2 Tensions and pedagogic diversity

In the following I will give a dialogue with the three core research questions set out in the introduction.

When I was about to start my doctoral studies, I was concerned with the gap between the regulations in the Swedish national curriculum (Lgr11) and the actual lack of drama practice in primary schools. When pupils leave compulsory school at fifteen, they should be able to "use and understand […] drama" (Lgr11, p. 8). Despite that, most schools do not include drama in the teaching and most pupils do not encounter drama during their compulsory school education. Also, the curriculum states that schools shall provide a diversity of practices and experiences and different forms of knowledge (p. 8). Therefore, the initial rationale for my investigation was to interrogate this gap and what factors contribute to upholding it. As my research process developed, my aim became to describe and critically analyse the process as one school, Dalhem School, initiated the implementation of drama in their teaching.

The research set out to answer three questions, and the first research question follows:

1. What tensions arise when drama is regularly practiced in a primary school, and what possibilities for pedagogical diversity evolve in the process?

A palpable strand throughout the process of the study was the different layers of tensions evolving as the teaching of drama was developed. One aspect of these tensions relates to the

hierarchy of subjects in education, in which drama is at the bottom (Robinson, 2011), exemplified by the rationale imposed upon the teacher in Grade Four that drama would take time away from other supposedly more important subjects. Fleming points out how some drama practitioners describe that they feel as though they are "borrowing" pupils and classrooms during drama lessons (Fleming, 2012. See also Piasecka, 2016). This is historically valid for drama and continues to create tensions in relation to compulsory school. As long as drama is considered useful as a tool in moral training, language teaching, speech training, and as a tool for supporting social interplay and personal growth, it will be practiced within certain framing but not developed as a subject in its own right (Braanaas, 1985; Fleming, 2012; Rasmusson, 2000; Rasmussen, 2001; Robinson, 2011; Slade, 1995). Society's 'will to know' and seeking of truth, which may appear appealing, is at the same time delimiting this truth by discursive exclusion procedures as it remains continuously unseen and therefore not possible to question (Foucault, 1993). For example, drama is formulated in the curriculum as an aesthetic form of expression that all pupils should encounter, learn to "understand" and "be able to use" (Lgr11), but simultaneously, it is made almost impossible by the educational hierarchy, structure and organization.

The status of drama in compulsory school relates to Dewey's critique of the 'orthodox schooling epistemology', as he argues that education should emanate from children's social lives and interests, allowing them to use all of their senses to express themselves in various ways and to follow through experiences (1938, 1958). These aspects all concern basic ideas within drama theory and practice, and questions the dominant discourses within current compulsory education. Strict, formalized teaching does not give room for creative processes in which the body-mind is taken into account (Dewey, 1958). This study argues that the orthodox view of the body in education is an important reason for the marginalized position of drama and an important reason for the tensions that arise. Foucault shows in his historical analyses how society's strategies to establish and maintain power relations are directed towards citizens and their bodies (1980). Among other societal services, the educational systems contain various forms of coercion that serve to produce docile bodies in society, and historically disciplinary power has been

practiced in the school system to make children's bodies the objects of manipulation and conditioning (Foucault, 1980).

Drawn from Dixon, regimes of truth within the schooling tradition still reproduce disciplinary power through controlling bodies, time and space, and this causes the pupils to internalize institutional behaviour, which, through time, becomes invisible (Dixon, 2011). However, the emancipatory and democratic elements in drama are not compatible with the orthodox schooling tradition and disciplinary power. Drama practice requires the negotiating of power, wherein the traditional positions of teacher and pupil are deconstructed (Hallgren, 2018; Neelands, 1984; Rasmussen, 2001). Øksnes (2011) argues that even though the view of disciplinary power has changed, an 'institutionalized childhood' (Se also Löf, 2011) still limits children's need to move around, use their imagination and explore borders, often expressed in 'carnival play'. The phenomenon of carnival play, involving strong corporal expressions, which often evolve during drama practice as pupil's agency is encouraged, further points to a possible reason for the resistance to developing drama practice within compulsory school practice (Mallan, 1999; Silfver, 2011; Slade, 1995). Against this backdrop, this study argues that the gap between curriculum and actual practice is more profound for drama as a discrete subject than, for example, drama only seen as part of language teaching. The current rationalistic epistemology (Biesta, 2011; Robinson, 2011) reinforces a historical regime of truth in reference to schooling, which prevents the implementation of drama as a mandatory subject in compulsory school.

Further, this research critiques a rationalistic epistemology, focusing 'efficient learning', in which the qualification dimension dominates over the equally important dimensions of socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2006, 2011). The result is that problems are met as isolated entities, labelled by Robinson (2011) as a "septic focus", meaning they are seen solely from a qualification perspective, hindering a holistic view, acknowledging different perspectives and the support of a pedagogical diversity. This is underscored by the 'the discursive turn', in which the concept of 'education' is narrowed into 'learning', with a focus on assessment and measurement, which have

added a new layer to the epistemological discourse, according to Biesta (2006). In the 'learnification discourse', tensions are viewed as obstacles to be eliminated in order to uphold efficiency, rather than possibilities for diversity and development.

The contribution of drama as an ecotone

Seeing drama as an ecotone has given me tools to analyse its practice from new perspectives, for example, that its in-between position creates diversity. It has also elucidated the complexity of implementing drama in the teaching, and deepened my understanding of the tensions and disequilibrium that evolve during this process in addition to the pedagogical diversity it offers.

The tensions at the edges of the adjacent habitats in an ecotone that give these habitats biological diversity (Hjort, 2003) is an analogy to the complex content in drama, the variety of its expressions, and the richness of the pedagogical practices. It relates to drama as a culture–aesthetic practice that does not position itself in traditional theatre nor pedagogy, but in an area in-between in the educational context (Rasmussen, 2001). Acknowledging this view, gives room for participants in drama practice to question curriculum, to see drama as a multimodal practice and stepping away from traditional theatre. Even though being a border-area, drama as an ecotone is its own defined habitat, comprehending a unique content. Also, seeing drama as an ecotone highlights how drama is a vital part of a sustainable primary school ecosystem.

This research posits that one specific feature of drama is the special appeal it has on pupils; the desire to "do theatre" (the pupil's formulation), expressed verbally and corporally by the pupils in the data, labelled by Fleming as "drama's motivational force" (2011, p. 33). Further, the data has underscored that drama as a subject and knowledge-field, requires permission for pupils to use and express themselves through their bodies, to use their imagination, and a need for flexibility in relation to time-tables and physical space. The research supports the idea of drama's intrinsic nature, encompassing a need of and possibility to negotiate power, opportunities to following through experiences and being able to practice 'kairos', qualitative, time (Elmeroth, et.al., 2006; Smith, 1986).

As established in Chapter 2.4, the definition of an ecotone contains the idea of an area which serves as a haven for 'sensitive species' (Hjort 2003). Related to drama this describes both participants' expressions as well as their creative processes. A parallel to this is what Heathcote coined as the 'penalty-free zone' (Johnson & O'Neill, 1984, p. 128). Drama as ecotone is at the same time a 'wild', un-cultivated habitat, containing risk-taking and contingent elements, in line with a divergent view of learning (Fleming, 2011; Lindström, 2012). This is exemplified by a feature of drama as what the pupils and the drama team describe as feeling "pirrig" when entering the drama room, that is, a mix of expectation, enthusiasm and a touch of nervousness. The data has exposed the constant oscillation between on one hand, the need for protection, for the possibility of creative processes where there is no right and wrong, and on the other hand, the need for structure, limits, negotiation and the need for a plan regarding progression. In order to establish a continuous, qualitative drama practice, practitioners need to prepare for how to support pupils who feel insecure in the drama room, and how to channel the energy that some pupils express in the carnival play. This research posits that features of carnival play expose many children's suppressed need for physical expressions and need to plunge into imagination. Therefore, teachers and drama pedagogues need to analyse and reflect on the phenomenon, and to develop their pedagogical skills so that they do not retire into the schooling habitat, and thereby narrow the drama practice.

An 'aesthetic habitus'

The tensions between drama, pedagogy and art have historically been a recurrent topic of debate in the drama community, that now seems to have integrated a fruitful consolidation (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Fleming, 2011; Hallgren, 2018, Sternudd, 2000). The model developed in this thesis: Schooling–Ecotone–Art, does not aim to awaken old conflicts, but has served to elucidate possible challenges and opportunities at 'the edges' within a primary school context. Previously, I have discussed schooling and ecotone, and in this section, I refer to the habitat of art, which I describe as an area in which artistic processes, practices and products are prioritized before the curriculum and didactics, and where pupils' agency and creativity are at the fore. As the study was carried out in a so-called socially vulnerable area where most of the pupils have a different cultural

background than Swedish, the question of habitus – the internalization of a subject's latitude (Bourdieu, 1977) – surfaced. The drama pedagogues engaged in the project who also worked at a Culture Centre, pointed out that none of the children from the actual living area took part in the activities at the Culture Centre downtown. As Bourdieu points out, concepts should not be fossilized, but rather be "made to work" in research, which is how they gradually improve (Bourdieu, 1992, p. 78). Therefore, I suggest that this opens up a discussion of an 'aesthetic habitus'. This involves that the model, Schooling–Ecotone–Art, could be analysed as supporting different aspects of an 'aesthetic habitus'.

For drama practitioners teaching drama in primary school, it may be fruitful to explore if schooling, drama/ecotone and art underscore or question different 'aesthetic habitus' and what implications this may have on the practice. Some teachers, for example, who want to use drama in their teaching but lack drama training, tend to rely on traditional theatre or roleplay based on the concept of orthodox mimesis (Berggraf Sæbø, 2009; Fleming, 2011). Further, even though schools engage in collaborative projects with artists, aiming to support the pupils' artistic development, the practice often ends up staying in a pedagogical habitat, or even remaining in the schooling discourse. In this context, the tripartite model and the idea of an aesthetic habitus can contribute to dialogue and reflection, to illustrate and concretize what aims and objectives could be formulated and what requisites will be necessary to achieve these aims. Further, the model can support the identification of the needs of further training for teachers concerning art, creative processes and artistic quality. Also, the practice of 'perspectivating' (Rasmussen, 2001) could contribute to a further discussion of drama practice in compulsory school. However, a deeper interrogation of this theme will have to wait for further research.

7.3 Explorative learning in drama

The second research question is concerned with learning, even though I did not aim to address specific, previously decided learning objectives. I have approached the concept of learning in an explorative sense and I acknowledge the difficulties of designating, formulating and

conceptualizing learning in drama. However, I still chose to pose this question so as to deepen my understanding of what kind of learning drama can involve:

2. What kind of learning processes can be identified in drama practice?

As Fleming points out, progression in drama practice shows that even though the distinctions of 'learning through' and 'learning in' drama can be useful, letting them merge is more constructive, which was also the experience of the project (Fleming, 2012). In the preparatory meeting with the teachers, they formulated expectations that drama could not only support learning in Swedish, English, natural science and social subjects but also concern social interplay. Apart from the Swedish teaching, the Viking theme in Grade Four and the Stone Age play in Grade Three that David carried out with the pupils, drama was not employed as a learning medium in other subjects. Whether the pupils learned more about Vikings or the Stone Age than they would have done without drama is out of reach for this investigation. As described in Chapter 4, two comments by the teachers suggested "learn to dramatize" as a possible objective for the project, and among other examples, performing 'The Viking Village' and 'The Stone Age' offered the pupils in Grades Three and Four an opportunity to follow through learning as 'an experience' (Dewey, 1934), in the sense of a process from idea to performance. By experience, the pupils learned what taking on roles and interacting within fiction involves, which was described by a girl in Grade Three: "One dares to show, to gain a little more courage – one dares to show it [the performance] to people". In Grade Four, one pupil wrote in the questionnaire: "In drama lessons, I think one can learn to show things better with body language. If I am going to show that I am drinking something, I have to show it with my body language."

Concerning social interplay, which was an objective the teachers and drama pedagogues saw as important, they concluded at the end of the project that pupils who had trouble collaborating with others before the project started did not display any distinctive and continuous difference at the end of the project. However, there were many signs of development according to Anna, as the pupils gained experiences, satisfaction and tools in how to play together. They also gained opportunities for collaborative imagination, fiction and role-taking. The pupils in Grade Two in

particular incorporated the notions of compromise, drama contract, and play-signal, not only during drama lessons but also independently in other lessons, and even during breaks.

The teachers explicitly wanted to develop drama as a pedagogical method in Swedish teaching. The research shows that the tensions during lessons challenged the teachers to reconsider their roles, their teaching, and their expectations on how pupils learn Swedish. The tensions also caused the drama pedagogues to develop their roles, their approach towards progression in drama teaching, and how they structured drama lessons in a mandatory context. Thus, the tensions arising at the border of schooling and ecotone resulted in edge-effects encompassing enhanced diversityin drama as well as in Swedish teaching. The study indicates that the tensions at the border of schooling and ecotone stimulated functionalized teaching in Swedish, as the pupils acted in stories and process dramas that including talking, listening, reading and writing within an engaging context. As a result, drama practice offered a strong alternative to formalized teaching, which focuses on training and skills in certain aspects of a language (Malmgren, 1996).

As the pupils took on roles and interacted with the teacher-in-role, they seemed to forget that Swedish teaching was also happening, and this 'detour learning' lessened their shyness, supported spontaneity and freed them to ask about words they did not understand. As the project proceeded, more pupils started to express their own ideas and imagination. This aligns with what Dewey describes as the need to forget about the artistic product in order to understand it, and the need for sensuous experiences of creativity in order to comprehend the theory or facts of them (1934). The data suggests that when pupils 'get lost' in the drama practice, this 'detour' has a positive effect on their language development, which contradicts the thought of 'effective learning' (Biesta, 2011). The teachers in first, second and fourth grades all concluded that the pupils developed in their orality. The threshold to write was lowered which supported the development of the pupils in second and fourth grades, due to their engagement in the process drama stories.

A change of discourse

An important perspective of the learning in and through drama concerns the adult participants. The analysis shows that the discourse, in terms of 'communicative events' (Fairclough, 2003), changed for all the participants during the year of the project. At the start of the project, teachers recalled previous experiences and referred to what they had heard or read about drama. They also expressed worries about how to follow through with the drama lessons with whole classes, how to deal with conflicts, and how to support both the pupils who do not speak Swedish and the pupils with diagnoses. Due to the lack of practical resources, the drama pedagogues expressed concerns regarding the possibility to work with drama in the school environment in a constructive way. They stated the need for more time for planning and reflection, the possibility to divide classes into smaller groups, and more guidance on how to collaborate with the teachers. The initial discourse among the adult participants can be described as 'assumptions' (Fairclough, 2003), but as they became accessible to collaborative dialogue, there was a change in the discourse during the process, and thus it can be characterized as intertextuality (Fairclough, 2003). The study concludes that the drama pedagogues and teachers displayed openness and a willingness to reconsider expectations, views and experiences, which is a sign of intertextuality rather than assumptions (Fairclough, 2003).

The next level in Fairclough's model, 'discursive practice', concerning production and the consuming of discourses, refers to the whole school staff and the receivers of the report written by me, Eva Österlind, the Head and the director of the Culture Centre as the school project ended. The report was presented by the drama team at a seminar at the city library to which approximately ten persons attended. It is not possible to determine if the 'discursive practice' changed, if the report and our seminar had any impact on the participants. Concerning the other teachers at the school, several of them stated that they saw the project as something important, but they did not take any steps themselves to get involved or learn more about drama. However, the teachers and drama pedagogues participating in the project, stated it was very satisfying and Anna said "Something really came out of the project." The third level in Fairclough's model, 'social practice', which relates to the current educational discourse in society, remains unchanged, which

is exemplified by the fact that the principal and teachers concluded it would not be possible to announce Dalhem School as a school with an aesthetic profile.

Although the four teachers who voluntarily participated in the project viewed drama as important and were supported by the principal, they experienced considerable ambiguity concerning the continuing practice of drama in the teaching. For Betty and Anna, teachers in first and second grade, this was mainly related to practical and organization issues, the challenge of carnival play, and how to create conditions for all pupils to participate in drama, even those who do not speak Swedish, are shy, or have a diagnosis. David and Christian also struggled with these issues, but their main concern was how to implement drama as a method for learning in other subjects. Regarding the two drama pedagogues, Ingrid and Rachel, their apprehension was initially how to approach the fact that drama in this context was mandatory, which they had not previously experienced and which was described by Ingrid as a "culture clash". Later in the process, their main challenges concerned having enough time for planning and reflecting with the teachers and how to achieve progression in the drama work. The study shows however, that during the project, the discourse changed from questions concerning organization, practicalities and pupils' behaviour into informed reflections on the progression of drama teaching, pupils' creativity, and the roles of teachers and drama pedagogues. In conclusion, I consider the change of discourse as an aspect of learning on behalf of the teachers and drama pedagogues.

7.4 Meaning-making and subjectification

The final research question focuses on the notion of meaning-making, which I see as a divergent dimension of learning (Lindström, 2012). It positions drama as a culture–aesthetic practice in which the traditional concept of mimesis by reproduction or representation is problematized, in favour of seeing aesthetic practice as pointing back to itself, meaning as an expression of meaning-making (Rasmussen, 2001). The question is posed:

3. What kind of meaning-making evolves when pupils are allowed to express themselves in and through drama?

In the study, I have particularly related meaning-making processes to the habitats of ecotone and art, and the interface between them. Meaning-making also refers to Biesta's notion of subjectification – one of three equally important dimensions in education. As Biesta explains, the notion of 'subjectification' is chosen rather than 'individualization', though the latter focuses on freedom and independence as the highest value. Subjectification, on the other hand, speaks about relations and reciprocal dependence (Biesta, 2006). A rationalistic epistemology focuses on individualisation and autonomy, but creative work, not least drama, underscores the human need for being in relation – to oneself, to other people, and to society. Subjectification is the process of becoming a subject, dependent on the relation to and responsibility for 'the other' which illuminates the question of interculturality. Subjectification, according to Biesta, is regardless of cultural background or personality and builds on the very fact of 'otherness' and the subject 'breaking into the world' as a unique individual (Biesta, 2006).

Demonstrated in this research was that drama supports the subjectification process as the pupils' subjective imagination and agency were acknowledged and because roles and power were negotiated. It can be exemplified by the strong motivational force (Fleming, 2011) expressed by the two boys, Tarek and Adnan, as they negotiated their individual need to process important topics at the same time as collaborating with each other. Through their collaborative work, they managed to complete an assignment, but outside the timetable and the classroom and despite several elements of tension. Another example is the girl in Fourth Grade who enthusiastically described that her friend, who is shy and always talks very silently, spoke with a high clear voice as they performed their scene. By playing a role, one can stretch outside one's limits and discover new ways of communicating.

As Foucault points out, topics that are kept in silence are certainly part of the discourse and can be described as 'blind spots' (Foucault, 1993). Unfolded during the research process was the importance of addressing the intercultural perspective in a more profound way. Even though a premise for the funding of the school project was that most pupils had foreign backgrounds, this aspect was not discussed in an open way. As Lahdenperä points out, when it comes to minority

groups and their education, debates concerning intercultural challenges are dominated by language issues (2004), which is also relevant to the staff at Dalhem school. The intercultural perspective was present during the project, but questions of *how* drama could relate to this aspect, concerning, for example identity, were not processed during my meetings and interviews with the drama team. However, as my awareness grew, it became important to focus this in relation to the practice, to account for the meaning-making perspective which concerns pupils' lives, questions, and thoughts.

During the second half of the year when I started to ask questions about the intercultural perspective and the drama team worked with a process drama with the theme of alienation and language confusion, an important discussion with the pupils took place. After the drama lesson, a small group of pupils talked about what happened in the story, as Tarek suddenly stated that "I am not Swedish", which became an impetus for the other pupils to reflect on how they saw themselves, as Swedish, or for example, as Kurdish. Most of them were quite sure they were not Swedish, but when asked where they wanted to live in the future, they became more insecure. The teacher, Anna, remarked afterwards that it had been an unusual and important talk. A couple of weeks later, she wrote to me that Tarek approached her one day and said, "Maybe I am Swedish after all". Even though the drama lesson was not a success in terms of the process drama, it initiated an important reflexive talk with the pupils, and it had stimulated Tarek's thinking days after the lesson. Further, this is an example of the importance of how to find topics for reflexive dialogues that are important enough for pupils to engage in. Thus, in the progression of the drama practice, meaning-making processes developed, for example, regarding intercultural perspectives, as pupils reflected on cultural identity with reference to a process drama.

Another example of pupils expressing aspects of drama generating reflections on identity, is when a boy in Fourth Grade, Hariz, explained why he liked drama: "Something exciting, new, will happen. We can be anyone. You can be any age. You can work in different places if you want, and lots of new stuff happens all the time, and you never know what." His classmate, Malak, also commented that "it's like a kind of freedom". The data shows that there were opportunities for

pupils to incorporate what they felt were important and interesting topics in the work. However, the multimodal analysis (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) shows that expressions, choice of dramatizations, body language, voice or the use of the drama room and the props are all embedded in discourse. The pupils in third grade speak of theatre, acting, costumes and props as their drama lessons emanated from these aspects, while pupils in other classes discussed exciting events in the process drama. Consequently, how the drama lessons are structured, what content is chosen, and the extent to which pupils can influence the practice amounts to what extent meaning-making processes can occur (Fleming, 2011).

Additionally, even if the drama lesson does not give much room for the pupils to choose topics, pupils will still find ways to express what is important to them. Given that football was a common interest, several boys recurrently 'designed' their scenes to revolve around the topic of football, even though it did not have anything to do with the actual assignment. During the work with the Viking theme, a couple of girls repeatedly suggested that anorexia could be a reason why the villagers died, which poses the question of how to approach situations in process drama based on "facts"; that is, to what extent should the pupils be able to incorporate "non-facts" to the story? The pupils' production of scenes often displayed their meaning-making processes as they followed through the teacher's assignment according to their own interpretation and considerations, as four girls did in their scene in the Viking story when they acted out an ethical dilemma as the chief Gunna had to decide who to leave behind and who to save. The research describes a clear progression in the Grade Four pupils' 'distribution' (Kress & Van Leeuwen, 2001) of their scene, as they performed it with seriousness in the last process drama of the project and responded respectfully while their classmates performed their scenes.

7.5 Implications of the findings

This study argues for the necessity of a holistic epistemology rather than a rationalistic one, in order to establish sustainable and 'good education' (Biesta, 2006, 2011; Dewey, 1938) which also means that the schooling habitat is in need of scrutiny, where questions of power are negotiated (Foucault, 1980). To deconstruct the dominating rationalistic discourses in current compulsory

education, profound questions need to be addressed; for example, “What is good education?” or “Efficient for whom?” (Biesta, 2011). The tensions created at the borders of Schooling–Ecotone–Art should not be seen as obstacles to be eliminated or avoided. As illustrated within the body of this thesis, if the tensions arising as drama is implemented in the teaching are considered as possibilities, they can contribute to pedagogical diversity, further training for teachers and drama pedagogues, and a possibility for school development. As aesthetics and art are natural and crucial parts of life and society, drama pedagogy and artistic practice should be seen as necessary parts of compulsory school (Adams & Owens, 2016; Dewey, 1934; Fleming, 2012; Robinson, 2011). Drama as an ecotone in the primary school context has pedagogical objectives but simultaneously comprehends and acknowledges its complexity and lobate borders as being interlinked with art. In order to support pupils’ socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2011), the openness to deconstructing cultural norms within schooling is needed. The acknowledgement of pupils’ different cultural backgrounds, identity, and life experiences must be taken into account in drama practice as part of the meaning-making and thereby learning processes (Fleming, 2006; Lahdenperä & Sundgren, 2016; Rasmussen, 2001).

This research posits that in order to achieve progression in drama practice, an understanding of the phenomenon of carnival play is needed. This encompasses the acknowledgement of pupils’ desire for play, imagination and bodily expressions in order to achieve qualitative drama practice in primary school. It sharpens questions about what conditions are needed when implementing drama in primary school and poses important questions on how to structure drama lessons. To support pupils’ creative agency and thereby subjectification processes, teachers and drama pedagogues must be ready to negotiate power and cross borders, for example, concerning practicalities or the curriculum. The empirical data suggests that pupils’ desire to be creative cannot be contained within the curriculum, timetables, classrooms and topics chosen by teachers. What I label as the area of Art in this study shows that, in order to support pupils’ creative agency, subjectification and meaning-making, the teachers and drama pedagogues need to create safe havens for ‘sensitive species’ (Hjort, 2003). By acknowledging drama as a safe haven and ‘sensitive

species' as topics, questions and explorative expressions that are important to the pupils must be given room within the drama practice.

Ecotone as a metaphor for drama contributes to the understanding of how to perceive, approach and practice drama in primary school in giving tools to recognize progress in drama teaching and how to understand where one's current position is in the process as well as in which direction it is moving: towards schooling, drama pedagogy or art. Depending on where one is positioned and in what direction one aims to move, informed choices of structures, activities and approaches can be made. It is important to avoid an asymmetrical response (Lacasella et al., 2015) in which the habitats of drama and art become dominated by schooling. Further, cultivating a 'lobate practice' is needed rather than maintaining rectilinear borders, meaning that drama and art can grow into each other and into schooling rather than the other way around. In order to achieve progression and quality in drama practice either schooling or customized drama lessons are enough. As was demonstrated in this research, teachers need to, for example, develop confidence in the pupils' creativity and their ability to take responsibility for this creativity. My conclusion implies that subsuming drama into schooling in order to avoid tensions and disequilibrium deprives teachers and drama pedagogues of a variety of possibilities for the development and progress of drama and teaching in Swedish as well as depriving pupils of learning and meaning- making.

Approaching Dalhem School as an ecosystem has served to underpin the complexity of a school in its relation to society, intercultural perspectives, and the current educational discourse. Using ecosystem as metaphor reveals that there is no equilibrium, since a sustainable ecosystem is 'alive'; on the contrary, development depends on disequilibrium (Reichholf, 2010). Thus, there is no final solution to recurrent challenges and no perfect pedagogical methods to approach the myriad of issues that arise in the everyday life of a school. This research shows that drama practice can contribute to all three dimensions qualification, socialization and subjectification (Biesta, 2011) but that openness to a divergent and contingent teaching and learning is crucial (Fleming, 2011, 2012). The critical discourse analysis suggests that if teachers and drama pedagogues have

the opportunity to collaborate and employ drama practice continually over the course of one year, it supports a changed discourse which can contribute to further training for all parties involved. As my experience of this study shows, which aligns with other research (Cedervall; 2020; Elsner, 2000; Ericsson & Lindgren, 2013; Rasmusson, 2000; Sternudd, 2000; Øksnes, 2011; Österlind & Hallgren, 2014) and also as my experience as a teacher educator, primary schools in Sweden today are in general ill-equipped to carry out the objectives formulated in the national curriculum. For schools to carry out the objectives, drama needs to be declared as a mandatory subject and a national drama teacher education needs to be established. The findings that this thesis presents, imply that a holistic view towards primary education therefore is needed, and by seeing compulsory school as an ecosystem, drama should be established as a subject and all subjects should be considered equally important, in order to create a sustainable and democratic education.

In conclusion, a remaining impression of this research is the pupils' desire for play, imagination, corporal expressions and "doing theatre", which aligns with my own experience of teaching drama in compulsory school many years ago. Even though several of the pupils stated that they sometimes felt insecure or that it was stressful when some of the classmates could not concentrate or became involved in conflicts, the motivational force for drama was palpable in all four groups. There is unfortunately reason to believe that an increased 'institutionalized childhood' (Øksnes, 2011) lessens the opportunities for children to experience a progress from carnival play to dramatic play and to develop understanding of how to "use and understand drama" (National curriculum, p. 8) in compulsory school. But the interpretation of the data in this investigation strongly suggests that, just as ecotones are necessary in sustainable ecosystems, drama is necessary in the primary school ecosystem. This study matters, because it offers knowledge about the conception of drama as a subject in primary school, and how drama can be implemented in the teaching. Also, the study can serve as a source for further training of school staff and drama pedagogues and thereby contribute to the development of schools. And finally, the study illuminates children's profound need to experience drama, creative work and art within the primary school context.

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Appendix A Data collection tables

Calendar	Participants	Method
21-01-13	14 teachers	Preparatory meeting, notes written by the teachers 60 minutes
21-02-13 23-05-14	The principal	Interviews, audio recorded 15 minutes 25 minutes
29-10-13 03-10-13	Drama team: Four teachers & two drama pedagogues	Group interviews, audio recorded 60 minutes
06-12-13	Grade 2 10 pupils	Interviews, audio recorded 6-10 minutes
09-12-13	Grade 1 8 pupils	Interviews, audio recorded 4-10 minutes
10-12-13	Grade 3 6 pupils	Interviews, audio recorded 7-10 minutes
12-12-13	Grade 4 6 pupils 2 pupils	Interviews, audio recorded 20 minutes 15 minutes
10-12-13	Anna	Interview, audio recorded 25 minutes
09-12-13 10-12-13	Ingrid	Interview, audio recorded 35 minutes
12-12-13 22-05-14	Christian	Interview, audio recorded 15 minutes 10 minutes
29-10-13 11-12-13	Ingrid & Betty	Interview, audio recorded 25 minutes
09-12-13	Christian & Ingrid	Interview, audio recorded

		18 minutes
23-01-14	Betty	Interview, audio recorded 20 minutes
04-04-14	4 pupils Grade 4	Informal conversation in corridor 10 minutes. Field notes
22-05-14	David	Interview, audio recorded 10 minutes
13-09-13 12-12-13 13-12-13 29-10-13 20-05-14 23-01-14 24-01-14 04-04-14		Field notes Informal conversation/Field notes
10-11-13 20-05-14	Grade 2 19 Pupils Grade 4 18 Pupils	Questionnaire Emojis Questionnaire Sentence-completion
 19-02-14 20-05-14	 Grade 2 2 Pupils Grade 4 Whole group, in classroom Two girls, one boy Three girls Whole group, in Drama room	Video recordings 9 minutes 24 minutes 4 minutes 7 minutes 13 minutes

Calendar	Participant	Method
27-09-13, 30-09-13 2-10-13, 03-10-13, 05-10-13, 10-10-13, 17-10-13, 18-10-13, 02-11-13 15-02-14, 17-03-14, 07-04-14	Ingrid	Email
13-09-13 27-10-13 10-11-13, 19-11-13 23-01-14 29-02-14 14-04-14	Anna	Email
13-09-13, 28-09-13 02-10-13, 03-10-13 15-11-13, 19-11-13 02-03-14	Rachel	Email